

THE HEROYK LIFE

And
DEPLORABLE DEATH

Of
The most Christian King
HENRY *the fourth.*

Adressed to his Immortall Memory;

By

P: MATHIEV,

Counciller and Historiographer of France.

TRANSLATED

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RE

Ed: Grimeston, Esquire.

LONDON

Printed by GEORGE ELD.

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A collected historical Memorial

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1611.

TO THE RIGHT Honourable the Lord

Viscont Cranborn.



Y good Lord : I haue presumed to offer this discourse vnto your view , not for that you vnderstand it not in the Originall , or to instruct your knowledge, the French tongue beeing familiar vnto you, and the subiect, with all the Circumstances, as well knowne as to any ; but to make you Censor of the worke, and of the Authors integritie, hauing remained in that Court , and receiued fauours from that great King, liuing in the height of worldly felicity, and with all beene an eye witness of that sad and mournfull spectacle , and of the generall consternation of the French , lamenting the Tragical and sodaine death of their King, to their ir-reparable losse.

This worke may happily seeme to some vnseasonable, when as his death is in a manner forgotten, there hauing also' beene so many Pamphlets, and petty discourses published of that subiect. But as my Authors excuse is, That time can prescribe no bounds to their sorrow, nor reason moderate their griefe, which renues with time, and therefore neuer vnseasonable to lament so great a losse. So I finding it written by an eloquent Pen, and by his owne Historiographer, who attended on him daily, to record both his words and Actions, and who

The Epistle Dedicatory.

both could and hath written many particularities vpon this Accident, which were vnknowne to others, haue thought it as worthy the knowledge of our Nation as any of the rest, and I hope will giue the Reader more content.

I haue presumed to make your Lordship Patron of my labour, both for that you can Iudge if there bee any thing defectiue, and in respect of my owne priuate obligation, hauing receiued many fauours from your Lordship during my aboade in France, with that hopefull Gentleman Maister *Henry Howard*: Vouchsafe it my good Lord your countenance, and accept it as a poore testimonie of his thankfulnessse, who is and will be

**Alwayes ready to
do you seruice:**

Ed: Grimeston.



The Author to the
Queene Regent.

M Adam this worke is dedicated
to the publike weale, whether
all Histories goe; to the Kings
seruice, whereat all affections
should ayme; to the immortall
reputation of Henry the Great, whether all
my thoughtes shall tend, and presenting it to
your Maiesty as to the Gouvernesse of the
realme, to the mother of my king, to the wid-
dow of my maister, I discharge my selfe of that
which I owe to the Instruction of Posterity, to
the glory of the Sonne, to the memorie of the
Father, and to the honor of your commande-
ments. I am sorry that it could not adde the
praise of diligence to the merit of my obedience,
but his slacknesse makes it not unseasonable;
the subiect is Immortall, the world will neuer

The Authors Epistle

cease to admire so glorious a life, nor to lament so tragicall and sodaine a death. This fatal day of the 14. of May, which should haue beene the period of your mourning, hath been the renewing of it, and hath reuiued your sorrowes with such passion as the spirits could hardly bee stayed from following your teares. Our greefes shall neuer be so old, but they shall still find new causes to lament. It is true (Madame) that they are much eased by the happy effects of your regency which hath preserved those that held themselves lost, hath maintained the lawes of the State, raised vp the subiects hope, let the world see that in a Queenes hart you carry the courage of a King, and that Italy hath brought forth a Blanch to Lewis the 13. as Spain did to Lewis the 9. you make that great Prince to liue againe, for whose departure the Earth weeps, and Heauen reioyceth at his retorne, he raignes in the King his sonne, he triumphs in the restauration of France and in the renowne of his vertues, which liues in you Madam, he breathes in your sighes, hee is reuerenced in your authority, he

To the Queene Regent.

he hath left you the force of his iudgement, the respects of his maiesty, the felicity of his raigne, the wills of all his subiects, whereof you dispose in such sort as it seemes the time present hath no cause to feare the future, nor to greeue for that is past.

P. Mathieu.



T His was that Man of Men, whose Cradle sprung
 With Happy Lawrells (that to Heauen aspir'd)
 Whose Youth with Worth of all the Worthies rung,
 Whose Aged Glories all the World admir'd:
 His Countries Father; Others Arbitrer:
 The Mercury of Peace, the Mars of Warre.

This Prince of Prowesse and of Policy,
 Arming to ayd the Rightfull Heire of Cleue,
 Step-Mother Rome (Mother of Trechery)
 Did of his Life with bloody Knife bereave;
 Step-Mother Rome; well may we call thee so,
 That now hast kild two Sonnes, two Kings arow.



THE
 Deplorable death of *Henry the*
fourth, the French King.



F P E A C E MAKE
 Kingdomes and Estates
 happy, France, which hath
 enjoyed it twelue yeares
 vnder the shadow of her
 Kings palme and lawrell-branches, may
 say, that heauen could adde nothing to
 her felicitie but Constancy, which is more
 desired then enjoyed in humaine affaires.
 The seeds of diuision are rooted out, dis-
 trust doth no more trouble mens mindes,
 there is no cause of factions and alterati-
 ons, and priuate miseries are couered with
 publike prosperities.

B

Neuer

Neuer Prince was more beloued nor better obeyed at home, none more redoubted nor admired abroad. The Princes of Christendome seeke and respect his allyance, he gouernes the courages of the greatest, and the willes of the meanest at his pleasure: his affaires are freed from the iniuries of necessitie or confusion. Hee hath seene treasons against his Estate, as soone preuented as conceiued, these furious torrents are crept into the earth, which they would haue swallowed vp: he demands nothing from heauen but hee obtaines it: his neighbours dare not refuse him any thing. What feares hee? and of whom is he not feared?

In the midst of these contents, he prepares a mighty army, the which the first day seems to promise victory, and to sing the triumph: euery man desires to vnderstand whether it goes, his friends growe iecalous, and his enimies tremble. They see the sword drawn, which threatens to haue
reason

reason of them that will not doe it, but no man knowes to whom it speakes ; force and valour are ready to charge, but we see no enemy ; there is no peace broken, no warre proclaimed.

The restitution of Iuliers, the liberty of Germany, the new alliance with the duke of Sauoy, were the apparant causes of this arming, few men knew his secret intentions. If it bee lawfull to iudge of the greatnesse of a desseigne by the preparation, wee must of force say that France could not but hope for great & glorious effects, and that hauing not of long time made a greater preparation, he had not attempted any thing of greater moment.

The Arsenal of Paris had within 25. years seene foure great prouisions, but this last was mightier & more then any of the rest: the Duke of Suyilly did shew by demonstration, that the first of this equipage should bee at Chalons, when as the last should goe out of Saint Martins suburbes

at Paris. The bravest resolutions came as
to an Accademie of valour and vertue.
The Princes of Germanie brought both
their swords and hopes. Count *Maurice*,
who hath euer commanded, came thither
to obey, and the King without doubt did
adde vnto those glorious titles of *Restorer*
of France, and Protector of the quiet of Chri-
stendom, that of Arbitrator of the Empire.

The Rendezuous for the Armie was in
Champagne; the Duke of Nevers, as Go-
uernor of the Prouince, and supplying the
place of Colonnell of the light horse of
France, commanding it: It was fortified
with 6000. Swisses, well appointed and
well armed; of the which the Duke of
Rohan was Colonel; The Kings arriual
might haue augmented it with 4000. gen-
tlemen, and the regiment of his gardes. It
strooke such a terror and amazement in-
to his neighbours, as these words were
publikely spoken at Colen. *It were a*
madnesse to thinke to resist a Prince which
hath

hath these great qualities, of Valiant, Power-
full and Fortunate. Many doubted that it
would trouble the peace of Christendom,
and that the succours which hee had
promised to a Protestant Prince, would be
a scandall to religion. The King told the
Popes Nuncio, That hee informed him-
selfe onely, whether they that demanded
succours were his firme friends, and if
their cause were iust, as for Religion it
should be no way wronged. Time, and
the Capitulation of Iuliers haue verified
this promise.

The indiscreet and burning zeale of
many, transported mens minds with these
strange apprehensions. Hee told one of
the bad offices which his enemies did
him in blemishing the integritie of his
thoughts towards Religion, and with-
drawing the fidelitie of his subiects from
his seruice. Having vsed great words vp-
on this subiect, which would be as orient
Pearles in his History, if hee had not for-
bidden

The Deplorable death,

bidden them to bee published; hee ended with these words. *The first thing whereof I haue spoken, is for the assurance of the Catholike religion in the country of Cleues. I will neuer endure, that it complaine neither of my armies, nor of my intentions. I told the Duke of Sully the other day that if all the Princes of Germany were resolu'd to make a protestant Emperour, I would hinder it.*

He had a great desire to see his armie, and nothing stay'd him but the Queenes Coronation, the only action which wanted in the prosperities of peace, and the wishes of France. This duty had beene neglected ten yeares, by them that should do it, and by her that should receiue it. France, thinking she could performe nothing equall to the merrits of this Princess, confest, that disability made her vnthankfull: The Queene had her spirits glutted with so many other sorts of content; her Pietie entertained her so sweetly with the hope of crownes which are
giuen

giuen in heauen , as shee cared not for any earthly one , although her courage thought it selfe wronged, to be exempted from an honor which had beene common to the Queenes of France.

That which other Kings had giuen vnto them by way of ceremony, this King was bound to yeeld vnto her, who did crowne all the graces which hee receiued from heauen, and did eternize the Flowers de Luz in her Royall posteritie: Hee granted it sooner then shee made shew to desire it , and presently commanded the Citty of Paris to thinke vpon the honors which were done vnto him at his entry presently after his Coronation. They set 800. men on worke about the preparation of this pompe, they imploied many excellent wits, to giue life vnto their statues and marble: If the triumph had bin ended, Europe had not seene any thing to equall it. And to iudge of the whole by a part, the cloth of gold & siluer which was
distri-

distributed came to a hundred and fiftie thousand crownes. It seemed they had gathered together all the Pearle of the Indies, and all the treasures of Asia vpon this occasion; but as desseignes, prest forward with diuerse passions, worke powerfully in the mindes of men, the King languishing on the one side with a desire to goe vnto his Armie, and not willing to part before the Queenes Coronation, it held his will and affection in suspence.

It was propounded to deferre this ceremonie vntill September; *Sanguin*, a counsellor of the court of Parliament, and Prouost of Marchants at Paris, gaue him to vnderstand, that this delay would make the charge vnprofitable, and that what was done would no more serue, if it stood long exposed to the ayre. VVherevpon the King said to the Duke of Guise, *That hee lamented the time which was lost in this expectation*: Nothing is performed with dilligence in their opinions which desire
and

and attend. The Duke of Guise seeming to haue no other ambition, then not to be last that came vnto the feast, said that hee did languish vntill he were in the Armie, that he would serue him better there then at the Queenes Coronation; that he was the meanest Captaine, but the best soldier of his realme.

On the Monday, the King was hunting at Saint Germaine, and disposing of the dayes which hee meant to spend at Paris, hee said: On twelofday I will goe, and lye at Saint Denis on wednesday; thursday I will retorne: on Friday I will dispose of my affaires; Saterdag I will runne; on Sondag shall bee my wiues entrie; Monday the marriage of my daughter of Vendosme; Tuesday the feast, and Wednesday to horse. And although hee knew well, both by the reasons of his Iudgement, and by those of his beliefe, that the time past was no more his, and that of the present hee had but an instant, yet his thoughts and cogitations extended

King disposeth of the time.

C to

to future things, saying, *that He prepared worke for Me to augment his History* : and being on the Twesday at masse, the Dauphin deliuering him a Crowne for his offring, he said vnto the Marshall of Feruaques, and to Saint Geran, Gouverneur of Bourbonois. *My Sonne doth now carry a Crowne, I hope within six yeares he will carry a sword after me.*

Difficulties
for prece-
dence.

He was much troubled to resolute all difficulties touching the rankes, places and honours of the coronation. *D'Rhodes* master of the ceremony, did often present vnto him the order that was obserued at the Coronation of *Queene Elenor*, wife to *Francis 1.* of *Katherine* wife to *Henry 2.* of *Elizabeth* wife to *Charles 9.* but in euery thing his will did serue for a rule and law. There was some difficulty for the ornaments of mantles: The same differences which they giue in the Armes of Princes howses, to distinguish the elder from the younger, are obserued in the ornaments which are giuen at mariages and funerals.

For

For we haue seen vpon the mantles of Orleans the *Lambeaux gueles* with the flowers de Luce. Vpon those of Arthois, the *Lambeaux* castelled or, vpon those of Aniou *Lambeaux* moouing in cheefe: in like maner they of Valois, of Berry, of Alençon, haue caried borders either plain or engrailed, or charged with besans; they of Eux bastons Or and Argent, and they of Bourbon bastons gueles.

The Queenes Mantle was pouldered with flowers de Luce, without number, as meerly royall & belonging soly vnto Maiesty. The Kings daughter and Queene *Marguerite* had 4. flower de luces pure vpon the border of their mantles. The Princesses of the bloud, demanded three, with the differences of armes, to the end that as there was a destin^{ti}o of the Kings daughters mantle from theirs, so should there be of theirs from those of other Princesses. The Earle of Soison said, *that the flowers de luce were the markes of their house; that their marriages and funeralls were honored*

Descripti-
on of the
Queenes
Mantle.

therewith, that the Princesses of the blood had alwayes carried them, with the differences of the branches and royall families from whence they were descended. The Princess of Conde at the entrie of Queene Elizabeth; The Lady Douager, Mother to the Princess of Conde, at his mariage. The Princess his mother, and the Duke of Montpensier at their Interments, as honors and prerogatiues inseperable from the quality of their birth; without the which the Princesses of the blood should not bee distinguished from the rest. But finding that this distinction was not pleasing vnto the King, hee retired himselfe to his house at Montigny, and the Countesse of Soisson came not to the ceremonie. This departure did afflict him, and this affliction appeared in his countenance, on Tuesday the xi. of May, and in the words which he spake vpon that subiect, to his most confident seruants. At the end of his dinner he was aduertised, that some troupes of horse which were in the armie, came and liued at

Earle of
Soissons re-
tires him-
selfe discon-
tented.

at discretion, and did not obey the Duke of Neuers; hee was offended with the Captaines, and told them they should bee with their charges; Then directing his speech to the Constable and other Noblemen, hee said. When my subiects shall bee ruined, who shall feed mee? who shall pay you your pensions and entertainments? They that serue mee must rest satisfied with what I giue them. I haue taken an order to deduct that out of the taxes which the people haue giuen vnto the men of warre, and to account vpon the souldiers musters what they haue receiued of the people. This equality beeing obserued, the discipline which they thinke so difficult, shall bee kept in despite of the most insolent and incorrigible. The Captaines should prevent these disorders, if they were in the army, but they will see Coronations and Triumphes; Curiosity should not make them remisse and carelesse of their duties. I would goe a hundred leagues to a battell, but I assure you I would not steppe a foote for this; & if it were not necessary, they

King and
Queene
came to
S. Denis.

should not see mee there.

All difficulties were determined with so great toile & contention, as if the Queene had beene at the beginning of this enterprize, she would haue bin distasted, & lost all desire to pursue it; Their Maiesties came on wednesday being the 12. of May to S. Denis. The King at his arriual remembred that he had not bin in the Abbey since his conuersion, and this remembrance made him to speake these words. *The last time I was heere I had no heire, and did not looke to haue any, I thanke God now for that which hee hath giuen mee.*

The Queenes chiefeft care was to prepare hir selfe to receiue the grace which shee expected the next day. The King seeing hir enter into hir deuotions to confession, he retired himself, and kissing hir, he said, *My loue, make a confession for vs both.* Vitry being then in quarter, as Captaine of the gard of the Kings person, had caused the doores of S. Denis church to be walled

vp,

vp, reseruing onely one which did not open but to such as had a ticket from him, or were well knowne. It was opened presently after mid-night, euery one being placed at ease to see, or to bee seene: the scaffolds being built after that manner, as notwithstanding that the assembly were of seauen or eight thousand persons, yet the last were no way hindred by them that were before them. Nothing did trouble the beholders sight, nor the officers who appointed what should be done.

The Kings Oratory being on the side of the Altar towards *Dagoberts* tombe, the founder of that Church, had two doores, one to the Altar, the other to the Queenes Theater. He came thether presently after dinner, & it seemed he had laid aside maiesty for that day, & had resigned it wholly vnto the Queene, to haue but the remainder of the honors which were done her. He made a turne about the Church, vntill she were ready, giuing order for all things ne-

Preparation
of S. Denis
church.

Manner of
the Queene
going to
her Coro-
nation.

necessary. His iudgement did determine the difficultie betwixt the two Captaines of the hundred Gentlemen, and that which fell out betwixt the Archers of the garde of the Kings body, and the hundred Gentlemen. Hee aduised the last to looke vnto themselues, saying, *That hee had neuer seene but in such ceremonies one would out-strip another.* All that serued for the pompe and state of this action, marching before the Queene, about two of the clock shee was conducted to the Church, and did ascend the great Theater: The Dauphin, the Duke of Aniou, (by reason of the indisposition of the Duke of Orleans) and for them *Souvray* and *Bethunes* their gouernours carried the folds of her Mantle. The Cardinals of Gondy and Sourdy led her, the Prince of Conty carried the Crowne, the duke of Vendosme the Scepter, the Cheualier of Vendosme the hand of Iustice. The Lady *Elisabeth* the Kings daughter, & Queene *Marguerite* followed the

the Queene; the Princeſſe of Conde, the Princeſſe of Conty, and the Duchefſe of Monpenſier carried the traine of her royall mantle, *Chasteauvieux*, her knight of honour did helpe to ſupport it, by her Maieſties expreſſe commandement.

The beauty of this pompe was admirable to all men: Queene *Marguerite* carried an ornament, as ſhee whoſe mother had beene crowned vpon the ſame Theater. The *Marguerites* of France come after the flower de luce of florence. *Marguerite* of Valois did ſerue *Katherine* de Medicis in the like occaſion. Other Queenes haue affected ſolitarines, to conceale their greefes and complaints for the change of their condition. She came to Court to let the world ſee the contentment which ſhee receiues in the iuſtice of that which hath beene proſecuted at her intreaty, aduanced with her deſires, and followed with her quiet. Shee yeelds all honours and reſpect to this Queene: Shee doth

acknowledge so many merits and perfections to bee in her, as she doth not thinke one crown sufficient for so many vertues.

We must confesse that there was neuer scene, neither could there be scene any thing that did equall the order, the beauty, and maiesty of this action. They were amazed at such a silence in so great a multitude, at so great reuerence done to holy misteries among men of different religions: so great order and constancy among spirits whose patience is presently spent, and cannot force themselves to ceremonies of long expectation, some being there from the beginning of the night, others from the breake of day. When as the King saw the Queene approach, he sayed *that he had neuer scene her so beautyfull*. And although it seemed that the care of rising early, and the trouble of so forced and ceremonious a day should haue bene preiudiciall, yet her complexion was neuer cleerer nor more fresh.

I did carefully obserue all the Kings discourse; the quicknes and viuacity of his spirit did worke more actiuelly then his eies, & did peirce into things which they must diuine. At the same instant he carried his eies vpon one, and did iudge of the actions of another being farre off. The Duke of Espernon saied vnto him, Sir, *Doe you not see the Popes Nuncio who laughs at the countenance of his neighbor?* No (said the king) *it is to see la Force & father Cotton in discourse.* It was true he did iudge of their thoughts and words, by their eies & countenance, and sodenly he did obserue a Lady in one place & a nobleman in another, & did let the farthest of them vnderstand that he knew them. Euery motion was an action, he spake to the noblemé that were about him, to the Archbi. of Rheims, the Duke of Espernon Montbason & Rais, to Bellegard maister of his horse, to the lords of Pralin, la Force, du Bellay & de Vic; he commanded the Marquis of Vernueill to

Kings carriage at the Ceremony

obserue what was done, he spake to them that were below ; hee pittied the Cardinall of Ioyeuse for that they kept him so long fasting , and Queene *Margueret* for that shee had risen too soone ; hee did presently answere all difficulties which grew for precedence. His spirit was euery where, and yet no where but in himselfe.

They had prepared a chaire for him, but the ioy which hee conceiued made him to leaue it, and to lay by both hatte and cloake, still changing his place , and alwaies speaking eyther of that which he saw, or of what was done. He was very attentiuē to the Coronation, the which hee would haue performed with all reuerence and silence : hee was sorry to see the glasse of the winddowes (which the Duke of Montbafon brake , to haue a more free veiw) fall vppon the Prelats which were set at the foote of his Oratorie before the Altar. I obserue this to stop their mouthes which haue said , that it
was

was done by his commandement.

The Queene was brought before the Altar, there to be crowned. The forme of Coronations requires, that the Inferior be crowned by the superior. *Augustus* gaue the Diadem to *Herod*, *Tiberius* to *Tigranes* King of Armenia; *Nero* to *Tiridates*, *Domitian* to *Decebalus*, and *Traian* to *Parthania*; Princes which acknowledge no superior, receiue it from God by the hands of their Ministers; and Queenes, which haue no light but from the beames of Kings their orient Sunne, should bee crowned by Kings. *Esther* was crowned by *Assuerus*. *Ptolomee*, marrying his sister, did set a Crowne vpon her head in the face of the armie. *Mitridates* gaue it to *Milefia*, *Heraclius* to *Eudoxia*. *Constantin* the yonger to *Theodora*, *Phocas* to *Leontia*, and in our dayes *Christina* of Lorraine was crowned by *Ferdinand* great Duke of Tuscane. But the pietie of the house of France, to shew that her Kings and Queenes haue no ma-

iestie but what comes from God, bindes them to receiue the Crowne by his Ministers, and before his Altars, confessing that these supreme honors depend meerly of his grace. Kings haue beene present at the Coronation of Queenes, as *Lewis* the yong at that of *Isabell* of Henault, and *Philip Augustus* at that of *Alix* of Blois, not to authorise, but to adorne the action; the onely presence of God, by that of his seruants, beeing necessary. Crownes are equall, there is no disparitie, *Iupiter* hath no more beames in his then *Iuno*. That wherewith the Queene is crowned, is the same the King receiues at his annointing. Reason, which makes of two hearts one, and the persons consorts of one life, to diuide equally their crosses & cōforts, doth neither allow of the difference of crowns obserued at the coronation of the Empres of Constantinople, nor the forme of crowning them, the Emperor receiuing the crowne from the Patriarke, the which he sets vpon his wiues head. The

The Queene then being before the Altar, kneeling, her hands ioyned, and her head humbled, they made a prayer, that it would please God to blesse that action of the Ministry, and humility of his Ministers, and poure vpon her the effects of his grace and vertue. The Bishop of Paris hauing beene appointed to present the sacred oyles, the Queenes head and brest was annointed. The Bishop of Beziers, chiefe Almoner to the Queene, by reason of the indisposition of Cardinall *du Peron*, chiefe Almoner of France, presented the crowne, which the Cardinall of Ioyeuse did set vpon hir Maiesties head. The Prelats presented the honors, the Scepter, the hand of Iustice, and the Ring; The kisse, whereof women are dispenced in homages ended this mistery, and the generall silence made it more venerable and stately. The Queene returning from the Altar to the Throne, the crowne of Stones which was set on in the place of the greater, had
almost

Coronation
of the
Queene.

almost fallen off, but she staied it presently with her hand, and set it fast. A prediction of good fortune which her wisdom and government should bring vnto our miseries. It seemed that her heart was not pleased with so great ioy, honor, and contentment as that day did giue her, for shee was sad and troubled, as a Prophetesse of some disaster. During this melancholy, she spake these words. *I consider that I can receiue but two honors in this Church, this is the first, the other shall be at my funerall, when it pleaseth God.*

This great Queene did imitate the Emperors of Constantinople, who on the day of their Coronations did choose Marble & Porphery for their tombes. This was to haue the spirit toucht with the same motions of that great light of the Easterne Church, who commanded his friends to put him in mind to finish his tombe, when they should see him most ioyfull. Shee remembered her whose name shee beares, who

who paied vnto her sonne the great vsurie of the ioy, which shee had had at his birth, who did not apprehend so great glory to be exalted aboue the Thrones of Angels, as shee felt grieffe and sorrow to see him tied vpon the Crosse betwixt two theenes.

The King hauing obserued all this ceremony, said, *That it was a great marke of the dignitie of the Church, for that it had particular formes and ceremonies to honor a royaltie, where as other Religions had not any thing like to anoynt their Kings, nor ministers appointed to that end. Some one said vnto him, that vnder the barke of ceremonies they found great mysteries; that the simplest and lightest had their reasons and grounds, that euen the smoake on Incense had hers, representing the prayers and intentions of the faithfull sent up to beauen.* This caused him to remember an excellent discourse which Cardinall du Perron had made vnto him vpon that subiect, speaking as all the East

E hath

hath spoken of the writings of *Gregorie Nazianzen*, whose authority was so great, as they were neuer reprehended nor contradicted. Hee also tooke great delight in the discourse which *Father Cotton* made to the Marquis of la Force, vpon the explication of the ceremonies of the masse and the Coronation.

This being ended, he setled himselfe to heare the rest of the seruice, and setting him downe in his chaire, hee came to his first admiration, why the Ambassador of Spaine did not vncouer himselfe. *Cicogne* told him that the deceased King of Spaine did but mooue his hat at the eleuation, and put it on presently againe, as if he had saluted a very meane Gentleman. Wherevpon the King said, *If wee had that feeling of Religion which wee should haue, we would doe more reuerence to those mysteries, for wee must beleue, that after the words of consecration pronounced vntill the Communion, Iesus Christ is alwayes present vpon the Altar.* These

These were his very words, there wants nothing but the grace and zeale where-with he deliuered them. I obserued them curiously for the beautifying of his History, and the honor of his pietie. In acts of religion, humility is no lesse requisite in Princes then in subiects. Deuotion doth no wrong to Maiesty. That which seemes vnfitting for grauity, is honorable in religion. *David* danced among the rest before the Arke, and did not disdaine to acknowledge, among them all, him that had aduanced him aboue all. The most fruitfull and necessary lesson for Kings, is humility; their birth and quality makes them disposed to pride. Humilitie is the true character of grace. All vertues are commendable in great Princes, but humility is necessary: many are aduised, but this is commanded.

Hee that hath not all may saue himselfe, but hee that hath not this is vndone.

With this humility the Queene receiued the booke of the Gospell and kist it, acknowledging that it is the rule of saluation, the compasse of faith, the Doctrine of eternall wisdome, which makes Kings to raigne. That which it teacheth is truth without deceyte, that which it commandeth is bounty without mallice, and that which it promiseth is felicity without misery,. But when shee did rise from her throne to come vnto the offering, humility retyred vnto her heart, and left nothing but sweetnesse in her eyes: Maiesty appeared vppon her, and about her, after a stately and reuerent manner, so as in marching shee seemed, not a Queene, but a Goddesse, and then it was that the King said, *that this was rightly to play the Queene.*

Queene
goes to the
offring.

All things were answerable. She came in the same order that she had beene conducted to the Coronation; the offrings beeing carried vppon rich cushions with towells

towels of white damaske fringed with gold. She receiued them from the hands of the Princesses of Conty, of Montpensier and of Guise, and offered them herselfe vppon the Altar; the wine in two little barrils of siluer and guilt, a loafe of siluer, and a loafe of gold, with a purse and thirteene peeces of gold, euery peece beeing worth thirteene crownes.

The preface beeing begonne, the King followed the Cardinall of Ioyeuzes voice, who was at the Altar. It is an ancient marke of piety in the Kings of France, to mingle their vowes and voyces with the Ministers of God. *Charlemaigne*, *Robert*, and *St. Lewis* did sing in the Church, and King *Charles* the 9. had beene heard sing. Hee carried so great reuerence and respect to holy Mysteries, as his eyes discovered the zeale of his heart. The Popes Nuncio obseruing this feruency, and these pure and free motions of his spirit, reioyced with the the other Prelates,

saying that the Pope would receiue great contentment therewith.

To al this dayes honors, which were the greatest that the earth could produce, it was fit to adde the perfection of all the graces which we can receiue from heauen, the full summe of all benefits, the abridgment of wonders, the eternall gage of the loue of God; wherefore the Queen was led the third time toward the Altar, where she did kneele downe vpon a Cushion which the Duke of Elbeuf presented to her, and receiued the holy Sacrament, hauing, for greater reuerence, set by the Crowne which she had vpon her head. A sollemne declaration that the Crownes of Princes submit themselues to our Sauiours Crowne of thornes, that all their maiesty depends of his power, their greatnesse hath no brightnesse but from that light, and it seemes like vnto the Enamell which doth not shew about a Pidgeons neck, if the Sunne doth

doth not shine vppon it.

The Ceremoney ended, about 4. of the Clocke the Heralds cast a largesse vnto the people of a great number of peeces of gold and siluer. All the Church did sound againe with cryes and acclamations of ioy and happinesse.

I haue not described it so perticular-lye and exactlie as some may wish: This is a History, not a Ceremoni-
all.

If the Noblemen which serued in this action take it ill that they haue beene forgotten in this discourse, they must remember that their names are written else-where, and that the hazards of battells, and not the pompes of Ceremonies are their true Thea-
ters.

The Queene was conducted backe a-
gaine to her Chamber by the Duke
of Guise, and the Cheualier of Guise
his brother: The King receiued her in
the

he presence Chamber, and in that encounter the great feruencie of his heart did euaporate it selfe by the teares of his eyes, with such tendernesse and affection, as one would haue thought he had giuen his last imbrasing. *Hee told her that she was to thanke God, for that all things had past so well : That neuer any thing had beene performed with more order and honor ;* and seeing her to haue more desire to rest then to dine, hee commanded euery one to depart the Chamber.

He was so well pleased with her royall Mantle, as he presently told *Sancerre*, Controwler generall of his plate, and maister of the Queenes roabes, that hee would haue a Caslock of the same fashion, besides three others of diuerse coullers, imbrodered and inricht with diuers Ciphers, to carry vpon his armes ; and for that hee could not haue them before his departure, hee commanded him to follow in post, and to bring it as soone as it should
bee

bee made, recommending the solliciting thereof vnto the Queene.

Hee suppt at Saint Denis, and they told him during supper, that the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice had a quarrell. Hee had foreseene it, and knowing that their spirits were altered by the forgetting of some complement which the one thought should haue beene done by the other, they might discouer their discontentes vpon the first occasion, hee recommended it to the Popes Nuncio, to haue a care least they should do any thing vnworthy the respect which was due to that occasion. This was handled so discretely, as the solemnitie was not troubled. The Ambassador of Venice did sometimes cast forth words to draw on others. The Ambassador of Spaine who had promised that hee would not offend him, if hee were not first offended, fore-seeing that if in this discourse, he gaue him siegneurie or Lordship, instead of Excellency,

F

(termes

(termes which were the onely cause of the iarre which was betwixt them) hee should be forced to breake out into some passionate speech, hee remained silent, and kept his grauity, hauing much paine to command him-selfe, so as his countenance could not dissemble the trouble and perturbation of his mind; At the returne from the Ceremony they did accompany the *Nuncio*, and did attend vntill he was entred into his Caroch to returne to Paris. At the very instant of his departure they fell to words and then to blowes. The King would needes see the keeper of the house and his wife, to vnderstand the manner, the aduantage, and the issue of this Combate.

After supper hee sent *Chasteauvieux* to tell the Queene *that if shee had a will to goe to Paris hee would stay for her; who answered, that shee was readie.* They came backe together in one Caroch, and the King made a discourse vnto her

her of this quarrell, with the descriptions and exaggerations, which he could enrich exceeding well, and the ioy wherein hee was gaue it much grace. Two leasters of the Court, to entertayne him in this humor fell to words and blowes before him vpon the way. The enseigne of his gard seeing this sport on horse-backe and with swords drawne to bee too neere his Carroche, hee caused them to retire, but the King commanded them to let them alone, for that hee tooke delight in it.

All that euening hee spake of nothing but of that which hee had seene and obserued, and could not sufficiently admire the Maiestie, grace, and royall behauour of the Queene. Here-vpon *La Brosse* a learned Phisition and Mathematician, sayd vnto the Duke of *Mendosme*, after a long discourse, *that if the King could auoyde an accident*

Predictions
of the kings
death.

which did threaten him, he might liue yet thirty yeares. No man is willing to let Kings vnderstand that which may troble them; the Duke of vendosme thinking it more conuenient that *la Brosse* should be the reporter of this aduise, besought the King to heare him; the king demanded what he would. At these words the Duke of Vendosme held his peace, his silence made the King more desirous to know it, he preft him, and hee excused himselfe, in the end the Kings commandement drew from him that which *la Brosse* had spoken: *You are a foole,* said the King *you beleue it;* Sir answered the Duke of Vendosme, *in these matters beleefe is forbidden, but not feare; your maiesties preservation binds all the world, and me more then all men not to contemne any thing: I beseech you most humbly to be pleased to beare him;* the King would not, but forbade him to speake of it. *I cannot,* said the Duke, *doe lesse then aduertize the Queene.*

The

The King replied twise, *that if he spake of it he would neuer loue him* ; And so la Brosse was sent away. This discourse I had word by word from the Duke of Vendosme.

At the same time the Queene did rest at an other prediction, which did assure her that she should not passe those dayes of ioy and triumph without some wonderfull crosse and affliction. At her returne from Saint Denis she saw him that had told her, whom she let vnderstand that all things had succeeded hapily at her Coronation, and that there was more likelihood to hope for good then to feare any euill. *Madame, said he, your entry is made, if I haue not spoken the truth, I will burne my Bookes.*

It is true that she had beene long before aduertized that in May 1610. she should haue a great Crosse. But as she is as little curious of these obseruations, as any Princeesse of Europe, so there is not any one
liuing

liuing that doth contemne them more, nor that giues them lesse credit. Shee did noe more esteeme this Prediction, then the threats of the Astrologians, who said, *that shee should dye vpon the deliury of the Lady Christina her second daughter.*

At that time they spake generally of some great accident that should happen. They called to minde many predictions vpon Commets, the Eclypses and Coniunction of superiour Planets. *Leouicius* had coniured all Kings that were borne vnder *Aries* and *Libra*, to haue a care of themselves.

The Starre which was seene the yeare before at noone-day, had beene considered by the Mathematicians as a signe of some sinister effect, The riuer of Loire had ouer-flowed with the like furie at the time of the violent deaths of *Henry* the second, and *Henry* the third. The seasons peruerterd the extreame cold, the violent heat, and those mountaines of Ice which
were

were seene vpon the riuers of Loire and Saone filled mens heads with like apprehensions. They had divulged about Paris verses of the *Samaritaine* vppon the new bridge, in imitation of *Nostradamus*, which spake plainly of the Kings death.

It is a great rashnesse to presume to foretell that which no man but God knowes. The knowledge of future things is ouercast with darknesse, so as humane iudgements cannot pierce into it. If future things might bee knowne by the starres, men had no need of Prophets to foretell before so many ages, of their Redemption, of the estate of the Church, and of the latter day.

But for my part I hold, that if the starres giue not some knowledge of these great disasters which fall vpon Princes, it were a folly for priuate men to consult vppon their influences, and to diuine what shall happen.

The

The religious contempt which this Prince made of all these obseruations, is so much the more commendable in him, for that curiositie doth insensibly settle a beliefe in the spirits of great men, by the incounter of some truth, as it is impossible that in ayming still at one marke, they should not sometimes hit it. The Court, which hath alwayes idlenesse to make mens minds delicate, and vanity to make them curious is the element of these diuiners, they adore them when they speake truth, and they excuse them when they are mistaken, they remember if they haue deliuered any thing truly, and forget their lyes. God doth also suffer a mischief to fall vpon him that did beleue it, not to giue countenance and authority to the Impostor, but to punish his lightnesse that gaue eare to the Impostor.

Hee was told in the beginning of his raigne, that hee should bee interred eight or ten dayes after King *Henry* the third, whose

whose hearſe was laid *in depoſito*, at Compeigne: That hee ſhould bee ſlaine in the 57. yeare of his age, and that this miſchief ſhould happen at a great ceremonie, with a hundred other fantasies, which hee regarded not, ſaying alwayes, *That God only knew the accoumt, and could number the daies of man.* And although that by the euent of that which they had foretold him of his greateſt aduentures, yea of his coming to the Crowne, his beliefe ſhould haue bin tempted to hearken to ſuch predictions, yet it remained alwaies conſtant in the contempt which he had made.

In Germany they had made his Horoſcope, the which ended his life in the 57. yeare of his age, by a violent blow: *Bumbaſte* a great Mathematician had publiſhed by the trumpet of the Imperiall Knight, that this Prince went happily and triumphantly to the Monarchie of Europe, if a terrible accident which did threaten him in the middeſt of his great & glo-

rious desseignes did not hinder him.

He that had fore-told the Duke of Guise of the issue of the estates of Blois, and the Duke of Mayenne, the losse of the battle of Yury, had said, *he should dye this yeare of a violent death.* A great Preacher told the Duke of Guise and his mother, *that this ioy should be troubled with great sorrow and heavinesse.* They had found vpon an Altar at Montargis, a prediction of this disastrous day. An Image they said, had cast forth teares at Bolleyn ; many other signes more curious then considerable . The Marshall of Raiz wife hath bin heard say, that Queene *Katherine* beeing desirous to know what should become of her children, and who should succeed them, the party which vndertooke to assure her, let her see a glasse, representing a hall, in the which either of them made so many turns as he should raigne yeares, & that K. Henry the 3. making his, the Duke of Guise crost him like a flash of lightning, after which the

the Prince of Nauarre presented himselfe, and made 22. turnes, and then vanished.

Whilest they made all things ready for the Coronation, they shewed him a Prediction come out of Spaine, telling *that a great King which had beene prisoner in his youth, should dye in the moneth of May*, but he said, *that that was the pollicy of the Spaniard to trouble that coronation, and that they should send the ball back with the like aduise*. It semed that he himself was the Sybille of his owne misfortune: he told the duke of Suyilly *that he had something lying at his heart, so as hee could not bee merry, and that hee apprehended some accident*. Hee said often, *that he should not continue long, and that good men should want him*. They told him that by reason of the continual rain in the spring, the streets of Paris were all couered with mire, and that if they were not clensed, the Queenes entry would bee very incommodious for the Noblemen that were appointed to attend about her Litter, whereto hee

answered, *It concerns not mee, I shall not see it.* The tree planted in the Court of the Lovure fel of it selfe the first day of May, without any force or violence, and beyond all apparence the head towards the lesser stayrs · *Bossompierre* seeing this, tould the Duke of Guise, with whome hee leaned vpon the barres of iron of the little walke before the Queenes Chamber, *that in Germanie and Italy they would hold the fall of this tree to bee ominous, whose shadow did serue all the world.* The King supposing they had some other talke, leaning his head easely vnto theirs, heard all this discourse, and sayd vnto them, *My eares haue beene filled these twenty yeares with these Predictions, but there shall nothing happen but what pleaseth God.*

On Saterdag the eight of May he came to see the Queene, being set at dinner, asking her *if the Coronation should be on Twesday*, but shee held her peace, for that her answer could not satisfie his desire. Then
he

he said vnto her, *Why? you speake nothing vnto me. I would be glad* (said the Queene) *it were to morrow, but Sancerre tells me it cannot be before Thursday*; where-vpon he sent for Sancerre, and grew in choller at these delaies, lamenting more the losse of time and occasions then two hundred thousand crownes which this stay did cost him, and therevpon he said vnto the Queene, *My loue, if it be not on Thursday, I assure you that Fryday once past you shall see mee noe more.* The Queene smyling, *you will be glad* (said she) *to see the entry.* No (answered the King) *On Fryday I will bid you far-well.* Man speakes words after his owne sence, and the destynies makes them to bee vnderstood, and to fall out after an other manner.

Walking at the Tuilleries on the Wednesday, he sayd vnto Montigny and Cicongne, *I would I weere dead*; And when as they tould him that hee had noe cause to wish for death, his life being full of all

He wisheth
him selfe
dead.

prosperity and content, hee answered, *you are more happy then I am*, which words hee spake often and to many. His seruants were afflicted, for that hee did afflict him-selfe without subiect, for at that time hee had so great prosperity in his affaires, so much reputation in his deiseines, as nothing did oppose it selfe against his wil, but to augment the glory of his power. He had so many blessings in his house, as he might like to that wise King of Egypt, shew the Queene his wife, and the Princes his children, as his treasures, and the greatest graces which fauorable heauen may giue vnto a great Prince.

His great
blessing &
happines.

In matters that were most declyning and in a manner desperat, God did alwaies assist him with great courrage, and with an inuincible constancy, which bred admiration in his seruants and amazement in his enemies, who saw him recoouer new force like *Anteus* when as they thought he had beene quite vanquished, but

but in the dissentions and quarrells of his Court, hee could not but shew his disquietnesse and impatience, at the motion whereof hee did some-times wish to change his condition, hee commended solitarinesse, wherein hee found the true tranquillity of the mind. There is nothing wanting; *Manna* falls there, the rauens bring bread from Heauen. If the waters be bitter, there is wood to sweeten them. If the combat of *Amalec* and *Edom* be ther, the triumph of *Moses* and *Iosua* is likewise there. But this kind of life is not fit for Princes, who are not borne for them-selues, but for their Estates, and for the people ouer whom they are set. In this feather is no other haueu but the graue, and they must die in action.

When as his cheefe seruants, who could not yeeld vnto a lie, nor dissemble the truth, did acquaint him with any disorder in his affaiers, and that vsing the power which hee had giuen them, they
did

did lay open with all freedome and sinceritie, the things that were not generally liked of : hee promised to take a time to reforme them, gaue his reasons, represented inconueniences, and consequences, there concluding, coldly, without any alteration of choller, which is ordinarie in Princes that are contradicted, hee said, *When I am dead they shal then know my worth.* Desiring that the Queene should bee informed of affaires; hee did often instruct her, and aduised her to know them whom hee did most trust, saying, *That shee might one day haue need of them,* and seeing her estrange her thoughts from that businesse, hee added, *that by the order and course of nature hee should goe first, and that hee would leaue her France in that estate, and all things so well setled and assured, as shee should not bee troubled like other Queenes to maintaine them.*

A little before the Queenes coronation, passing with her from her Chamber to the
Cabi-

Cabinet, hee stayed at the doore to speake to one, and seeing her stay vntill hee had done, he said smiling vnto her, *Passe on, passe on Lady Regent.* Hee did then allow that which the heauens had resolved to doe, and men haue since confirmed, that which God and the King had ordained. Hee had neuer called the Dauphin King. It is the last word that Kings speake; the ieaiousie of Soueraigne command doth not pronounce it, but in extremity, and I remember that a Nobleman saying vnto him, *that he wisht that my Lord the Dauphin had a dozen of his yeares*, hee answered; *I would not that hee had one.* And the day of the coronation, as if God would that in so great an assembly hee should make the last disposition of his estate: he said vnto his Garde; *Behold your King.*

Going on a time out of his Carroch, he told the Prince of Conde and the Baron of Saint Chaumont, that hee had beene aduertised he should die in a Carroch of a

H

violent

violent death. The last time he came from Monceaux, hee past by Saint Maur des Follez to see the Dauphin, going from thence after supper to Paris to his bed: Beeing aduised by some to take his horse, and that it was dangerous to go by night in a Carroche, hee answered, *If any one should feare it is I, for I haue beene told I should dye in a Carroche.* Hee had escaped great dangers in Carroch, which should haue made him apprehend the truth of this prediction. France shall neuer remember the ouer-throwing of the Carroch into the riuer of Seine at Port de Neuilly, and of that which was in it, but she will acknowledge her selfe bound to praise God, who preferued the King, and retired the Queene from out the midst of the shaddows of death, and saued her from this shipwrack, to saue France at need. Wee haue spoken it before, and wee will say againe in the continuance of the History, that the deepe waters
were

were not able to quench the liuely and eternall flames of loue which shee bare vnto the King ; for the first words shee pronounced were , *Where is the King ?* A Mathematician did aduertise him at the siege of la Fere , that hee should not passe such a day without danger of his life ; In despite of these dreames, he shewed himselfe vnto the walles , and to the enemies Cannon, and supping that night at Trauelfy, hee praised G O D for that the day which had beene noted vnto him to bee vnfortunate, had past happily. Hee did accompany the Duchesse of Beaufort to Mouy, where she was lodged by Torche-light, the horses stumbled in a bad passage, and drew the Carroche after them into a precipice or downe-fall, all that were in it were in great danger, the Carroche was torn in peeces, & the horses slain or lamed. This accident following presently after the threat, should haue beene of force to make him leaue the vse of Carroches,

but hee made a iest at it, and would neuer beleue that this was an effect of the Mathematicians Prediction.

It is true, there is no worse lodging for a Prince which goes in publike then a Carroche. The King of Chyna goes in one, but besides his ordinary gards, which are about him, hee hath alwayes five or fixe attired like himselfe, to the end he should not be distinguished nor knowne. When as they propounded vnto the Earle of Fuentes a desleigne to trouble France, and to kindle a new ciuill warre, hee said, *it was impossible whilest the King liued, and that first of all bee must be made away.* When as he that did manage this businesse, did represent vnto him the difficulty therof, the Earle answered, *that ther was nothing more easie, seeing that he went often in a Carroche.*

Wee must neither beleue confidently nor wholly neglect all kindes of dreames. Those of great Princes are not vaine vppon great resolutions, after which

we find that they haue beene diuinely inspired. Few great accidents haue happned vnto the Queene without some precedent dreame. She drempt of the death of Pope *Leo* the tenth, and that Cardinall *Aldobrandino* said vnto her, *that his successor should be noe lesse affected to her house.* She saw the death of the great Duke *Fernand* her vnkle in a dreame, and the next day sending for his Agent, she demanded *what newes he had last receiued.* To whom he answered; *that he had none but good;* then shee replied, *that the first hee should receiue should not be so.*

The Queens
dreames.

Some few daies before this fatall accident shee had two dreames, the which were true predictions, when as the Jewellers and Lapidaries prepared her crowne she drempt that the great diamonds and all the goodly stones which shee had giuen them to enrich it were turned into Pearles, the which the interpreters of dreames take for teares. The second

dreame made her to start as one terrified; where at the King did wonder, and asked her *what she ayled*, the which at the first she would not discouer, saying onely, *that dreames were lies, and that she gave no credit to them: neither doe I*, said the King, *but what was your dreame?* being prest and intreated; *I drempt*, said shee, *that one stabd you with a knife vpon the little staires. God be thanked*, answered the King, *it is but a dreame*: she asked if she should call vp *Renouilliere*, who was the first woman of her Chamber, but the king tould her ther was no need and so fell presently a sleepe. He was a Prince of so good a constitution, as he had two things equally at his disposition, to sleepe & wake when it pleased him.

Many things were obserued at S. Denis and taken for a bad presage: the King and Queene said *that their sleepes had beene interuped by a Scribe oule*, a night bird which betokens funerals, which had made a croking all night at their Chamber window. The stone which lies vpon the vault

whereas

whereas the Kings are interred was found open. Curiosity, which obserues euery slight circumstance, tooke it for an il signe that the Queenes taper went out of it self, and that if shee had not layed hand to her Crowne, it had fallen twise. I know not what to thinke when as the same day this Prince, beholding the Theaters so well peopled and in so good order, said; *that it made him remember the day of iudgement, and that they would bee much amazed to see the iudge come.* This yeare before this accident two Gentlemen, the one of Bearne, the other of Condome of diuers relligions, yet both seruants to the king, brought two visions which did aduertise him of this latter day, he of Condome, had seen nothing but in a dreame; the other said, that walking a great man had appered vnto him, carrying the kings picture vpon his hart, and had said vnto him; *Goe vnto Fontainebleau whereas the King shall enter euen as thou shalt arriue, tell him this and that on the behalfe of God.* Hee obeyed

and

and the king heard him, who remembering that many cosenors had couered their deceits with the like aduertisments to get mony, and seeing this gentleman refuse three hundred crownes which he had appointed for his lorney, saying *that hee had noe other desseine therein but to obey God, and to serue the King*, hee did not contemne this aduice, and was well conceited of it.

Many after the blow will say that they had spoken well, euery man will deale with diuining, and say that *Cassandra* hath spoken truly, but shee was vnfortunate, noe man beleeued her, wee will not goe farre, to morrow wee will confesse that all these predictions were too true. The King came to see the Queene, who supt in her secret Cabinet, and was atended on by her women. He talked vnto her, and drank twise the remainders of that which she had left in her glasse, more for pleasure then for any thirst, and then he went presently to his bed, And as his army was the
con-

continually obiect of his thoughts, being in his great Cabinet ready to goe to his rest, he tooke *Pralin* by the arme, and leaning vpon him, hee spake these words; *Many thinke ill of my voyage, but by the grace of God, from a cause which in their opinions is bad, and in my iudgement most iust, wee will draw good effects.*

The Queene was still in her Cabinet when hee went to bed, where shee remained long, entertayning her selfe with that which was done, and that which was to be done. Her good seruants were bound for many respects to remember that day, but she would haue the remembrance of her Coronation accompanied with that of her affection, and therefore she sent vnto them in particular Medalles, of peeces of gold and siluer, which the largesse had made publike at Saint Denis, and commanded *Dargouge*, her Tresorer, to giue them vnto all the officers of her household: these peeces had on the one side her

I picture

picture wonderfully well cut, and on the other a great Crowne, out of the which sprong three branches, a Lawrell, a Palme and an Oliue, with this Inscription after an Antike manner, appointed by the Chancellor; *Seculi Felicitas*. Shee also disposed of many things that might serue for the finishing of her entry. Wee may well speake now · for to morrow at this time wee shall speake no more of this. Wee might haue seene Arcades, Theaters, Arbors and Statues set vp to this end, with the goodly troupes of horse and foote of the Citty. But that which remained to bee seene, was such, as they might vse the like words vnto the beholders, as they did vnto such as were inuited vnto the secular games; *Come and see that which was neuer seene, and which no man liuing shall euer see.*

Of all the ceremonies of the house of France, the goodliest and most sumptuous are at the Coronations and entry of
Queenes,

Queenes. The Ornaments, the long habits, the sexe, adde particular graces and beauty to the Pompe, and hold the eyes, hearts, and spirits of men suspended, betwixt ioy and admiration.

We should haue seene the Queene in hir litter, made like a triumphant Chariot, couered both within and without with cloth of tisse of gold & siluer, the chaire, pillars, and euery part of it, with the canopie ouer it of the same; the Daulphin on horseback, the Lady *Elizabeth* & Queene *Marguerite* also in a litter, ten Princellesses or Duchesses, attired after a royall manner, with crownes on their heads, vpon white horses with saddle-clothes of cloth of siluer, the traines of their mantles being carried vp by Squiers; the Lady of honor, & the Dame d'Atour, with the chiefe Ladies of the Court in gownes of cloth of tisse, gold and siluer, with double traines vpon white hackneys; twelue of the Queenes Maides attyred in cloth of siluer, in

Descripti-
on of the
Queenes
entry.

three Chariots couered with cloth of gold and filuer, the Knights of the Order, the Noblemen of the Court, the Knight of honor, the Maister of her Horſe, foure Squires, foure Gentlemen ſeruants, hee that carried the cloake-bag, ten Pages, foureteene footmen, fiue horſes of ſhew, a horſe which caried the caſket of Iewels, the Queenes hackney, her double gelding, and with all this a great number of men richly appointed, to answer the excellencie of the equipage. The Queene had giuen liueries to the Captaines of the gardes, to the foure companies, to the hundred Suiffes, to the great Prouoſt, and to the Captaine of the Port, to their Archers, to the vſhers of the Chamber carrying Maces, to the Herald at Armes, Trumpets, Houbois, Drums and Phifes.

They had erected a Theater at Saint Lazare, where the Queene ſhould haue receiued the reuerences, homages, and orations which ſhould haue beene made

vnto her, in the behalfe of the body, and all the orders of the citty, of the Soueraigne companies, and the faculties of the Vniuersity. And to that end the Chancellor was appointed to bee neere vnto her Maiestie, attired in a roabe of tawnie veluet in graine, lined with vnshorne veluet, his callock of fatten of the same coulour, and his hatt of tawnie veluet. His predecessors at such ceremonies were attired in cloth of rissue, gold and siluer, but hee would go more modestly.

All this was ready for Sonday, there was no delay, nothing wanting: the Queene was wonderfully well pleased that the King had no more cause to bee discontented for the stay of his voyage. Nothing could hinder the perfecting of this ioy, but that which no man thought could happen. But the thoughts of men are but winde, their resolutions but Chimera's, their contents but illusions, Princes are often-times entertained with

I 3 fables,

fables when they watch, they tell them tales to make them sleepe, and something must bee said whilst they sleepe to reuiue their seruants, whome a continuall care afflicts, least this great ioy should bee crost with great sorrow.

Iupiter commanded *Pleasure* to retire to Heauen, for that hee was so well followed and serued by men, as hee did no more care to leaue the earth. To returne more purely, hee disrobed him-selfe. *Greefe*, who all the time of his aboad on earth had beene banished, found those cloathes and disguised him-selfe. Since shee hath alwaies deceiued the world, which vnder the shewes of ioy incounters sorrow: the greatest ioyes beeing but meere vexations couered with little pleasure.

Behold the fourteenth day of May which had beene so famous in the triumphes

umphes of France for the happie victory which King Lewis the twelfth obtayned on that day in the yeare one thousand five hundred and nine, at Ghiradadda, is now so tragicall and lamentable in the memorie of the French, as the yeares of many ages shall neuer bring it about, but it shall renewe in their hearts the immortal wounds where-with it hath galled them.

The King did ryse early to end the day betimes, and past into his priuat Cabinet to apparrell him-selſe. I will note many small circumstances; I will obserue all his words curiously; I will report all his actions diligently; both for that they were his last, and the last duties which the History oweth him; as also to represent them all together as in a table, whereas mens iudgements shall find diuers objects to busie them-selues withall. Being in his Cabinet he sent for

The Kings
actions the
day of his
death.

Rambure

Rambure, who was arriued the night before, and whome he would imploy in his army about the Duke of Vendosme; hee spake to *de Barraut* touching the quarrell betwixt the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice. About fixe of the clocke he went to bed againe, to giue him-selfe more liberty to doe the homage of his heart vnto God, and to spend some time in the exercises of piety, the which noe occasions, noe not in alarmes could make him neglect. Hearing some one at the doore, he said, *It is Mounseigneur de Villeroy*, for hee had sent for him by *la Varenne*. He discoursed much with him of affaires, and referring the rest vnto the Tuilleries, he commanded him to draw the curtaine, and so continued his prayers, staying for his clothes.

He did long to see the Noblemen which had not beene at Saint Denis, to make them partakers of the contentment which he had receiued. Such a contentment as might

might bee that of a triumphant King, of a most happy husband, and of a ioyfull father; hauing seene vpon the theater of glory, that which hee held most deere in this world, & in a word his wife crowned, serued, and followed by his children. But this content did no wayes with-draw him from his affaires; he caused that morning the expeditions to bee sealed for all that which he had granted to the Duke of Sa-uooy, making it knowne that he was very well pleased, that his will had beene followed and effected at Brussoles, where as the Marshall d'Esdiquieres had seene that Prince vpon the cleering of his desseignes, and of the meanes to execute them. The Duke of Bouillon Councillor of State, hauing made three iourneys into Piedmont about that businesse, had brought the articles of the league, offensive and defensive, signed in that conference.

The ioy he had conceiued thereof, sate on his face all that morning, as he walked

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in the *Tuilleries*, whether my lord the Dauphin came to see him. He spake to the Cardinall Ioyeuse, & to diuers other Lords, & related the excellency & beauty of the coronation. He was carefull to appease the strife betwixt the ambassadors of Spain & Venice. This spirit which in war would be euery where, & in peace did execute all the offices of his subiects, would needs know of the harbingers, what order wastaken in *S. Denis* street, the number of those who were to be lodged, & what lets were made by perticular persons, and where his own lodging was; it was appointed neere to *S. Iames* his hospitall. He went to the monastery of the *Fueillans*, and heard out masse without any interruption. The antient order of Gods seruice in the house of the French Kings, forbiddeth any man to vndertake to speake to the King concerning businesse when he is hearing masse. He is only to be entertained with discourses of piety. His custome was to cause the gospel
for

for that day to be expounded to him.

When hee came thether after none, his Maiesty vsed some excuses to the Prelats, saying; *Busineses haue made our deuotions slow: It is true, that when I labor for the common-wealth, I pray, and by reason thereof I doe some times on working dayes loose masse. This is to leaue God, for God.* In the same church he saw the Chappell which the family of Bassompierre had builded, and reading this verse of the Psalme, which was set down for an Emblem, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus que retribuit mihi?* he said, Bassompierre as a Germaine should haue added, *Calicem accipiam.* This so sharpe and ready reply, drawne from the thing it self, was admired, and the Duke of Guyse therevpon hauing broken a witty iest, the King added, *You know me not: when you shal misse me, then you will know me, and that will be shortly.*

Before he would sit down to meat, he did in his Cabinet heare *Descartes* concerning the iourney he made by his comandement,

to discover the passage of the river Semoy. By his report hee was assured of that which others held doubtfull; hee did represent it easie, safe, and commodious, thorow the countrey of Castle-Renaud, which belongeth in soueraignty to the Princesse of Conty at the foord of Fillouer a little beneath Linchamp.

He was much pleased with this resolution, for it was told him that the Marquis Spinola had seized on those places to stop his passage. His content was augmented, when as hee certified him of the state and goodly disposition of his Armie, of the Swisses arrivall, of the equipage of the artillery, and of the good order which the Duke of Neuers did there obserue, of the ioy which the forraine troopes conceived for his comming, of the generall amazement of the countrey of Luxembourg, and of other Prouinces of the Low countries, which made this Prince invincible, and which at the very first, would cause
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weapons to fall out of the hands, and confidence from the hearts of the most resolute.

The desire to behold it, was redoubled in his soule, when as hee considered how his desseignes, did as it were out-goe his desires; that all things were conformable to his will, and that Fortune did seeme to present him with Townes and Prouinces, taken in nets: Hee was so opportunely and faithfully serued, as he caused places of great importance to be discovered, before they who commanded them had any inckling thereof, and he was more confident to take them, then resolute to assaile them.

All the officers of the Crowne, all the chiefe Lords of the kingdom, all the gallantry of the Prouinces were neere about him, & albeit they did not certainly know whether the winde would carry them, they were content to bee imbarcked in a shipp, whose Pilot was not onely skilfull

in guiding the Helme, but had beene alwaies beloued and fauored of Neptune.

He said, that he would haue foure thousand Gentlemen; that out of the same number, hee would choose two thousand, and would cause them to serue with pikes, with a thousand musketeiers, chosen out of all the infantry, and that vnder the conduct of a good Captaine, hee would present them at the head of the enemies army, and would cause them to skirmish.

Then hee added in fauor of the French Nobility, of whose force, courrage, and sufficiency hee had made good prooffe. What is their in the whole world that is able to resist it? what can not two thousand French Gentlemen doe in their Kings presence? They will ouer-turne Mountaines. Hee shewed twelue petronels for twelue foote-men, saying, that it was to salute fve hundred paces off, those galants who should come to play the Carabines at any time when he went to make discouery.

Hee made account in his absence to
commit

commit al royal authority to the Queene, leauing the Constable and the Chancellor with her, hee determined to take the President *Ianin* along with him, in praise of whose wisdom and integrity he said, *I haue euer giuen him good wordes, but no deeds. Hee is old and hath still done me good seruice.*

He was highly pleased with the aduertisement which the Marshall *Bouillon* had sent him, concerning the state of the frontiers, and for that the Marquis *Spinola* made shew to meete him halfe-way, and to hinder his passage into the county of *Liege*, but that all the people cryed out *Vive la France.*

At his dinner hee called *Nerastang*, and told him *what delight he tooke, in that his regiment was one of the brauest and best armed, and for that hee had so speedily caused it to march to the Rendez vous, that the number did exceed their entertainment, assuring him that hee would remember his Captaines. Nerestang replied, that the honour to be first employed*

ployed in the execution of his commandements did oblige them to thinke more how to seeke occasions to serue him well, then on the meanes of recompence: being assured that they would neuer bee poore vnder so great and fortunat a Prince. Thus ought you to speak & in this manner wil I be serued quoth the king. It is for subjects to forget their seruices, & for Princes to remember them. My seruants shold trust to me, and to the care I haue of them. Those vnto whome I haue done more good then to your selfe doe not acknowledge it so much as you doe, and of great benefits are made the greatest ingrattitudes.

Herevpon he perceiued the Princesse and the Lady Christina his daughters coming towards him, hee kissed them, and asked if they had dined. The Lady of Monglas, their gouernesse, said that they had dined at Saint Denis before they came forth, and that they had there seene the relikes and the treasor. The Lady of Vendosme added that the Duke of Aniou looking stedfastly

on a too mbe, one had told him that it was the Papa, and how that at that speech hee did nothing but weepe and cry. That is because he loues mee, (said the King) for yesterday while the ceremony lasted he neuer gaue-ouer crying Papa. He saw a master of requests of his house-hold standing by, and from a martiall discourse which he had ended, he fell into an other of religion, witnessing the desire which hee had at his returne to labour in the reunion of his subjects, by such certaine and iust remedies as they should not bee reiected but by those, who loued the disease better then the cure. They are the most ardent vowes and purest sighes of good mindes, whose daies in this schisme are but careers of troubles and discontent.

Hee amply enlarged his discourse thereon, and of the meanes to worke the couersion of a Gouvernor of a Prouince and one of his most confident and faithfull seruants. This man wondering at

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such thoughts in those great deaignes of armes and affaires, did twise protest, and that very zealously that his minde was euer ready and disposed therevnto. He gratioously receiued the booke of the *Auant-Victor* which hee presented to him: who-so-euer is desirous to know the Author therof, to admire his wit, let him read the *French Soldier*.

After dinner hee talked long with the president *Iamin*, and with *Arnauld*, the superintendent of his treasures, telling them that hee was resolued to labour in the reformation of his state in euery part thereof, to releue the miseries and oppressions of his people, and no more to endure here-after, that gold should bee of more power in his Kingdome then vertue or desert, nor that the sale of offices should prophane sacred things, coniuring all his good seruants to second his good intents, with resolution and courage.

Hee

Hee came into the Queenes chamber attended onely by the Marquis of *la Force*, and albeit they said that hee was in a pleasant humour, I found his countenance other-wise disposed, neither did his minde agree with his words. Hee passed on to the Queenes Cabinet, who was busie in giuing order for all things necessary for the pompe and magnificence of her entry, hauing commanded the Bishoppe of Bezeirs, her cheefe Almoner, to goe to the Conciergery of the Pallace, together with two or three maisters of requests, to consult about the enlargment of the prisoners. Hee perceiued the Dutchesse of Guyse to bee desirous to goe into the Citty, and said vnto hir, Cofin, *tarry here still wee will laugh and bee merry*, shee excused her selfe by reason of an assembly made by certaine Aduocates of the court of Parliament, at which she must needs be. He said, he would go visit the Princesse of

Conty who kept her chamber, being wearied with the former daies toyle: Hee could not tarry in one place & much lesse conceale his irresolutions, in the sundry agitations whereof, hee told the Queene *that he knew not what to doe; that hee was desirous to goe to the Arcenall; and because hee grew some-what cholericke, the Queene there-vpon said to him, Sir doe not goe your selfe, send some one thither, you are now in a good humor, and you will goe and disquiet your selfe.*

At his comming foorth of the Queenes Cabinet hee shut him-selfe into his owne for to write, and at the fifth line, as his spirits were neuer so attentive to any one businesse, but that hee had still force and vigor to thinke of many more, hee called in *Clauary*, whome hee had sent to the Venetian Ambassador, to know in what humor hee found him vpon the composing of his quarrell.

After he had written, & giuen the letter to
one

one that waited for it, he came to the window, and laying his hand vpon his forehead, he spake these words. *O God ! there is something lying heere that doth much trouble mee.* They were noted by *Castelnaud*, with whom he confidently talked a long time, hauing told him three dayes before, that three kind of greeces did perplex him.

Cares are inseparable accidents to royalty. These high regions are neuer without stormes; great states, like vnto great ships, are euer laden with troubles and cares. This Princes minde was toiled too and fro with sundry thoughts; and besides all that, a prisoner hauing told him of great matters contrary to his seruice, hee was sorry that hee was enforced to dissemble them till his returne. His iudgement, which knew vnto what point of greatnesse he ought to raise mens mindes and courages, would not dispose of the office of Marshall generall of the army, at their pleasures who desired it.

Hee was discontented for that his army was not employed, and for that they of Coloigne, like to those of Liege, had not beene dealt with concerning victuals. His fore-sight, going before all necessities, made him resolute not to march but in safety, with considerations worthy his experiences and reputation. In regard whereof he determined to make three lodgings for his army, the first at the passage of the riuer of Semy: the other two farther on in a neutrall countrey, and not to stir from thence till hee had fortified them, with caualtery and foote-forces, and with all sorts of defences; and therefore about all things he would be assured of that, whose want breaketh greatest desseignes, and weakneth the mightiest armies.

Comming forth of his Cabinet, he entered into the Queenes chamber, where he talked with the Chancellor about graue, serious and important businesse, which touched the future, more then the present time:

time : as though God would not haue him to leaue the world, before he had opened his last intents to the first and chiefe officer of his iustice , and the last with whom he conferred about businelle . This discourse being ended, the Chancellor observing that he made no hast to goe into the city, said vnto him; *Sir, I must go and assemble your Councell.* The King embracing him replied; *Go your way, I will go and bid my wife farewell,* Hee spake to the Lords there present, and said; *Yee know very wel how Queene Marguerite said, that my wife hath done wonders at her Coronation.* This had respect to some Ladies, who because they would bee present at that solemnity had forced their yeares and infirmities , and as they were telling of certaine fooleries committed at S. Denis, wherat they al did laugh, he said; *Let vs not laugh so much on Friday, least wee weepe on Sonday.* Hee did mock at that superstitious opinion, beleeuing that on that day all hearts would wholly giue themselves ouer to mirth. He

Hee came into the Queenes Cabinet : And heerein I did obserue what power the presence of this Princesse had , to sweeten the discontents, and to scatter the cloudes of this Prince his minde : for as though he had no more felt the sorrow, whereof hee euen now complained, he did fashion his countenance, speech and gesture, to whatsoever might make shew of a supream content of minde. Hee plaid the part of a father with his children, the Dukes of Orleance and Anjou. But in the midst of all this it was discerned , that his desire was to go abroad and yet could not. Hee said to the Queene : *I know not what I ayle, I am not able to go from hence :* shee coniur'd him to stay still. He commanded *Frontenac* to go to the Pallace to giue order for the royall feast , and told him that hee himselfe would be there by fixe of the clock the next morning , to see how all things were prepared.

Within a while after hee sent *de Vitry* likewise,

likewise, willing him to haue a speciall care that hee might there receiue as great content, as hee had done at S. Denis, and that he should finde Frontenac and Forcy there. Vitry replied, Sir, you shall see other matters there, but seeing your Maiesty doth command mee to goe thither, it may please you to remember, that I cannot bee in two places at once: For when I see you hunting, or walking smally accompanied, my minde is then at quiet, and I am not afraid of your person, as I now am in this great Citty, which is full of incredible numbers of unknowne strangers. Get you hence, quoth the King, you are a Prater, and would faine tarry heere to chat with these women. Do that I bid you; fifty and odde yeares are past, since I haue kept my selfe without a Captaine of my Garde, I can yet well enough keepe my selfe alone. To this Vitry replied, You need not Sir to be alone: for all your garde stand ready, expecting when your Maiesty will come abroad.

All the grace, excellencie, and charmes ..

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of eloquency could not perswade him in peace to care for that which he had neglected in warre. His courage hauing so often engaged him in danger among his enemies, would not suffer him to distrust among his subiects. That braue *Alexander* thought it dishonor not to hazard himself at the passage of the riuer Granick, hauing crossed the arme of the sea of Hellespont. This generous Palme hath brought forth fruite at all seasons of his life, and his History doth furnish so many examples thereof, as wonder stealeth away beleefe. As the starres do goe contrary to the course of the world, euen so doe his actions against base and vulgar opinions, and doe throwe dust in their eyes, which thinke to follow the high pitch of his valour.

From the first day that hee went to the war, he forgot the greatnesse of his birth, the necessity of his affaires, the fruite of his hopes, to sacrifice his owne particular
safe-

safety to that of the generall. Neuer did Captaine of a troope of Carabines beare himselfe more brauely, freely, and with more courage in dangers. Dangers in cities, dangers in the field, dangers at the passage of riuers, dangers at incounters, skirmishes, battailes, and retreate.

Death was euery where presented before his eyes, euery where did hee braue and contemne it. Of a thousand examples which may be found in his history, I will mention two or three to cleere this truth, and to make it apparent that neuer Prince hath incurd more danger to deserue the name of *valiant*, nor neuer vsed greater discretion to purchase that of *Fortunate*.

He attempts to take *Eaux* with seauen or eight men: a seditious fellow, sets his harquebuzze at his brest, saying, *That hee could hitte the white*; because this Prince aboue all those of his troope did weare a white doublet.

The Citty beeing assured; his seruants in the heate, caused him to bee hanged forth at a window, the rope brake, hee vnderstood that one of his followers had giuen him a stab with a Poinard in the brest, hee turned him away, and would no more see him, saying, *That hee who had escaped the Rope, ought to incurre no farther danger.*

At the taking of Cahors, as hee passed ouer the bridge, the shot of an harquebuzze from the citty, slue him that was next him. The fight lasted more then thirty houres, and without his example, in contempt of dangers, the most resolu'd courages would haue growne cold. His presence did heate them, as they say *liquid Bitumen* doth enflame the ayre which is round about it.

He commeth forth of Nerac with nine or ten horffe, to view the army of the Marshall *Matignon*, who in a brauery was comming thither. Hee was discovered by those, whom he went to discover, and on a
fodaine

sodaine was saluted with a furious charge. He retires without disorder, and without enforcing his horse more then his ordinary pace. They reckoned five hundred poles or stakes which supporred the Vines to be broken & crackt a sunder with shot, by whose couert he returned to the citty.

If any man say that at the same time hee was but King of a part of Nauarre, and chiefe of a party, for whose fortune hee was enforced to hazard his owne, his hurt at Aumale doth testifie, that being King of France he did not spare his flesh. The last of his military actions is sufficient to iudge of all the former.

His army being in the Tarentaise made shew to assaile a bridge, to discover the enemies order, and to engage them in the fight. He commanded the Count of Soys-sons to goe thither, and perceiuing the souldiers to grow warme, that the heate of the fight did draw them farther on then hee would haue had them, that they were

angry because they might not be suffered to end the matter, he him selfe would goe thither, contrary to the aduice of his cheefe seruants, who said, that by thrusting him-selfe so freely into danger, he was not only carelesse of his owne life, but of al those likewise whose safety depended vpon him; that the cheefe duty of a Generall of an army was to preserue him who was to preserue all the rest. The Prince trespasseth against the publique safety, which contemneth his owne particular. The noblest and valiantest Grecians were those who were best armed, supposing that they who came to the warres badly armed, had no desire to fight. Their lawes punished him who did forsake his target, and not his sword. The reason was that a man ought cheefely to provide for his owne defence before hee attempt to offend his enemy, especially those who haue the gouernment and command, of a state or army. But he would shew, that age doth not weaken courage, that the dignity of a Crowne doth

doth not dispence a Prince from dangers, that the Laurel doth not defend him from the lightnings of warre, and that he desired to haue no part in the glory of incounters, vnlesse he had a share in the danger. He mounted a horse which the Marshall *Desdiguieres* gaue him, hee went bee-yond the formost to hold them backe and to bring them off from the danger whither the excesse of valour did carry them,

When the enemies saw him with his truncheon in his hand, a white beard on a face fired by the heate of his courage, & the contempt of dangers, they protested that nothing could bee done with more glory, grauity, iudgement, nor boldnesse. In this action hee performed three charges; that of a King, shewing the authority and fortunatenesse of his presence: that of a Captaine, ording all matters speedily, iudiciously, without disorder and without daunger: and that of a soldiour by being in those places where
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the shotte of muskets and hargubuzes, were liberally bestowed.

Let them that please, terme these exploits by the name of happy rashnesse; blame hee that list that generall who being aduertized of the threatnings of his death, answered, *that Sparta did not depend upon one man alone*: let who will magnifie the opinion of those which say, that a good and discreet Captaine ought to die of olde-age, or at least wise old: Praise life they that please, as the most pretious guift of Heauen, which all the gold that the Sunne hath made, and shall make, can neuer bee able to buy: this Prince thought that there was nothing so great nor so generous, as the contempt of life, and that the *Cæsars* and *Alexanders* would haue neuer bin crowned with so many Lawrells if they had basely retired from dangers.

As hee did not respect present perills, so he did mocke those which were far off, *Elizabeth* Queene of England aduertized him

him that a strange Gentleman who was one of his followers had no good meaning towards his person, reason would that hee should haue beene apprehended, or at least dismissed. He neuer shewed him bad countenance for it, hee continued for a time wel entertained in his court, mounted out of his owne stable, honored with his commandements, til his owne conscience enforced him to get him thence, and no longer to abuse that royall bounty.

This noble disposition could not beleeue, that to bee in an other man, which was not in it selfe, and he did neuer disquiet his owne rest with suspitions and distrusts. Some foure yeares since, slander did inuent against a worthy Gentleman of Brettaigne, an odious and cruell accusation of treason and disloyalty, and did colour it with such strong circumstances, as were sufficient to alter the pulse and complexion of innocency it selfe. He was aduertised thereof, and for to shew

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that he could not distrust those whose seruices had deserued his trust, hee called for the Gentleman, he discouered this accusation vnto him, and hauing assured him that no imprellion thereof remayned in him, he willed him to confere therof with one of his principall ministers, who being amazed at this freeness and bounty in affaires of so great importance, wherein a man could not erre twise, where rigor was commendable, distrust reasonable, secrecy necessary, and simple suspitions taken for accusations; after hee had told him that which was past, with all circumstances and presumptions, hee confessed that the kings generous disposition had no Paralell but that of great *Alexander*, who did receiue with one hand the drinke which his Phisitian *Philip* brought him, & with the other shewed him the letter by which hee was aduertised that *Darius* had promised him great rewards to poison him. He was aduertised at the same time that ther were
designes.

designes against his person, and hee supposed that in such assemblies the execution thereof might be more boldly done: but if during the fury of the wars hee had despised such admonishments, how could he apprehend them in time of peace? It was told him in the month of Octob. that one was come forth of a certaine country with such a curst and damnable intent, but when hee was informed of the fashion of the man, and how that he had a marke on the face, a beard of such a colour, and his clothing after the Walloone cut, he said, *that the aduertisement was not good, and that such a man was very easie to be known.*

His trusty seruants neuertheless did not giue ouer their discouery of him: he was aduertised besides of another who came conducted by the same spirit, but by another way, and was to come to Paris in in Nouember, but he was not discouered.

Hee did wholly resigne himselfe to the will of God, beleeuing that whatsoever hee had appoynted was ineuitable

that a man ought cheerefully to follow his destiny without fearing. He said vnto those who did beseech him to haue more care of his owne preservation. He that shall feare death shall enterprize nothing against me. He that shall dispise his own life shall make attempts on mine, and I shall not be able to hinder them: It is your parts to looke to it. A life that is continually in this feare is worse then death. When I go to bed I recommend my selfe to GOD, and when I rise I beseech him to preserve me: the rest is in his power. He wil defend me from fooles, and as for wise-men I feare them not. Besides I liue in such fashion as I may not enter into these distrusts; It is for Tyrants to be euer in feare & dread; valiant shepheards sleepe in safety; cowards are euer feareful. That religious Numa would not distrust those who trusted to him. Magnanimous as Cesar, greater in Clemency then Cesar, is destroyed like to Cesar, for that he did more regard his greate and innocent bounty then an other mans extreame fury & wickednes.

The

The manner of his life, the condition of the times, the state of his affaires, the religious obseruation of treaties of Peace, and Edicts, would not suffer him to torment his minde with the apprehension of these attempts. The vlcers of the minde were healed, the wildest hearts were tamed, pretences amazed, discontents repaired, and enemies so changed, as they detested such conspiracies against a Prince, whose life was so fruitfull and necessary for all Christendom.

A desperate fellow borne at Negrepe-
lisse went into Spaine to prostitute him-
selfe to this damnable desseigne, he disco-
uered himselfe to one of the King of
Spaines Esquires, named by the place of
his birth *Valdemoro. De Barraut*, Ambassa-
dor there for the King, had some inckling
thereof, and complained to the Popes
Nuncio, to the end hee should consider the
impiety of those who giue eare to such
monsters: The Duke of Lerma assured

him that diuerse of that humor had offered themselves, and were still repulsed, protesting that those impious and execrable thoughts, vnworthy of the minde of a King, were not in that of his maister, and that he was amazed to see a nation, which was so much praised for their fidelity and affection to their Kings, so much to degenerate, and to produce such vnnaturall monsters. He commanded *Valdemoro* to relate the whole course of that bargaine to the Ambassador. *Valdemoro* came to him and told him; how that this wretch came vnto him, boasting that hee knew the meanes how to kill the King. It is not needfull to lay open that meanes, vnlesse we should doe like those, who reproouing superstition and inchantments, doe learne the rules and charmes thereof. Hee confessed that hee had listned to that proposition, but his conscience representing vnto him the heinousnesse of such an attempt, hee had imparted the matter to a Iesuit, who

who did very much diuert him from such a cursed practise, and had exhorted him to aduertise the Ambassador thereof, to the end they might haue a care of the safety of the Kings person.

De Barraut aduertised his Maiesty hereof. Hee often spake of it, hee praised the wisdom of his Ambassador, the integrity of the Duke of Lerma, and the duty which the Iesuit had done to truth and to his owne conscience. The praise had been more perfect, and the merit more plaine and euident for the Spaniards, if they had punished this traitor. Hee ought not to haue come forth of Spaine vnchastised. All Kings are brothers, and all kingdoms interessed in these attempts. This act of Iustice was reserued for *De Verdun* first President of Languedoc, to annex it to the other great examples which he hath shewed in that Prouince.

This wretch comming to Tholouse, was vpon the Ambassadors aduertisment appre-

apprehended. From prison he was sent to execution, and his fellow to the gallies.

Now to continue the discourse of this generous contempt of death, it is certaine, that this great confidence which this Prince chiefly had in the protection of God, then in his owne conscience, which did not enforce him to feare his enemies, nor to distrust his owne subiects, did much hasten the storme which will now presently fall vpon him. If he had erected in France as many Trophies and Monuments of the seuerity of his iustice, as wonders of his clemency, attempts would not haue beene so freely framed in weake spirits. The Lybian Lions do not come neere those citties on whose walles their spoiles are hung, Woolues flie from the sound of those drummes that are made of their skinner.

It is not long since, that it pleased him to make a large discourse vnto mee of the dangers, which by the singuler prouidence
of

of God hee had escaped, saying, That his pleasure was to haue them remembred in his History, even as his heart did retaine the acknowledgment of them, and vpon his relation of his discontent, for that his Court of Parliament at Tours had condemned a man to dye, who for to escape from his enemies had promised to kill him, his heart neuer consenting to his mouth; I told him, that those who were to administer Iustice, could not use too much severity for the preservation of his person, that so many heads depended on his head, so many liues on his life, that not onely consents, but thoughts, not onely thoughts, but dreames to attempt against a Princes life, were punishable, and had euer beene punished.

Hee continued his discourse, how that if he had sent that mad fellow to his court of Parliament, who incountred him on the new bridge, and who saying, That hee was descended from the first King of France, demanded to haue the Crowne restored onto
O him;

him, he did not doubt but that they would haue put him to death for which hee should haue been very sorry, because they should haue punished a poore Ideot, who to the first questi^on that the President *Ianin* asked him concerning his birth and qualities, replied, *that he could extract himselfe from Pharamond. He was knowne* (quoth the King) *to be so farre beside himselfe, and so troubled with melancholy, as I being one day at the Bastill, and he espying me a farre off, cried out aloud, deliuer me my kingdome.* I told him madnesse did not excuse attempts of that nature, how *Caboche*, for drawing his sword vpon King *Henry* the second like a mad man without effect and violence was condemned to dye. That another mad-man had vndergon the like punishment who assayled *Ferdinand* King of Arragon the yeare. 1492. and gaue him a wound with a sword from the eare downe to the neck, who beeing imprisoned and tormented with all kind of tortures

tures, confessed nothing but that the diuell had willed him so to doe, promising to giue him *Ferdinands* Crowne. This folly did not excuse him. They did cut off his feete and his hands, they pluckt out his eyes foorth of his head, hee was torne in peeces with burning tongues, his body was consumed with a lingring fire, and hee gaue vp the ghost droppe by drop. And albeit the saying is that mad men are sufficiently tormented by their owne madnesse, and that it is not lawfull to augment the affliction of the afflicted, yet neuer-the-lesse, there is nothing which doth sooner make those who are out of their wits to become temperate then the punishment which is inflicted vppon them.

The King did interrupt my speech with this word, truely royall, and truely his owne, *Mercy pardoneth those who haue not deserued it, and the iuster that wrath is, the more commendable is mercy.*

This good Prince did still endeavour to sweeten the sharpnesse and rigour of the commandements of his lawes: and as *Numa* would haue sooner appeased *Iupiter* with heads of Garlick then of men, so hee had rather like *Alexander*, execute the rigor of his vow on the Ass, then on his keeper.

This free and generous minde disdayning all these feares and cautions, and contemning all coniurements to haue respect to his owne safety, would not for feare of the future, abate any thing of the time present, and beeing satisfied with the mishap which euery day produceth without adding by preuention that of to morrow, said to the Queene, *That hee was resolved to goe into the Citty*, and going forward to the staires before the Queenes chamber, hee asked, *if his Caroshe were beneath*. The villaine which had vndertaken this execrable deed heard these words, and grumbled betwixt his teeth, *Thou art mine,*

mine, thou art undone.

Before he departed, he bad the Queene farewell three feuerall times and kissed her, as if his heart had testified his greefe to bee separated and diuided from hers, the Marshal of la Chastres wife perceiuing these imbracements told him, that hee beganne euery day to loue the Queene better and better, that his good seruants did receiue great content thereby, and did dayly hope for more, but shee hoped hee did not flatter her. At his going forth he met with the Dutchesse of Mercure who was the last Princesse that euer he spake to.

In comming down the lesser stayres he commanded the Marshal Bois Dauphin to make him-selfe readie to goe along and beeing come downe into the Court hee spake to the Duke of Anjou and shewed him Bassompier, asking him, if hee knew him. Hee tooke his Caroch about three quarters of an houre past three, hee satte in the cheefe place thereof, and hauing

asked the Duke *Espernon* if he had any business in the towne, he placed him on his right hand. In the boote of the same side, was the Marshall *Lauardin*, and de *Roquelauve*. The Duke of Mombason and the Marquis de la *Force* sate in the fore-part of the Caroché with *Liancour* his chiefe Quiery, and the Marquis of Mirebeau.

The Coach-man intreated the Quirie whose turne was then to waite, to aske the King whether hee went, and hee answered, *Carry mee from this house*. Being vnder the Arche of the first gate, hee caused his Caroché to bee opened on euery side; when hee came as farre as the Hostell of Longueuill, hee sent backe all those which followed. They asked him once againe whether the Caroché should goe, hee said, *to the Tirouer Crosse* and when he was there hee said. *Let vs goe to S. Innocents Church-yard*. Hee went to the Arceuall to acquaint the Duke of Suylli with the great content hee receaued by

D'Es-

D'Escures iourney, and how that those doubts which hee had made to him were cleared.

And now doth mine ignorance and humility cause mee to shutte mine eyes against those radiant beames of that soveraigne power which disposeth of second causes as he pleaseth. My thoughts doe loose themselves in the gulphes of this inevitable power called Destiny, which this Prince accounted for an ordinance of God, drawne to a necessity, and whereof he made admirable obseruations. About three yeares since, a gentleman, one of his huntf-men, hauing waited out his quarter, craued leaue of him to go home, intending to depart the same day. His Maiesty hauing giuen him leaue, hee vnderstanding that the King would hunt, staied his iourney, and said, that he had a great desire to see the Stag. He came, and saw it so nie, as being strické into the belly with one of the braucklers, he fell down dead in the place.

place. *You may see* (quoth the King, returning from hunting) *what destinies is, hee craued leaue of mee to depart, and I granted it, and having no businesse to stay him he would needes seeke his owne death by hunting. His houre was come, hee was not able to hold it backe a minute, there-vpon he made a large discourse of such like obseruations.*

But when I consider how he did labour to haue all things meete together with this accursed moment, how that he goeth abroad with some vn-willingnesse of minde, which is euer the secret Oracle of good or euill aduentures; how that the Queene, to diuert him from going into the Citty, did the same as Calphurnia did to keepe Caesar from going to the Senate house; how that hee made hast to gette him forth of the Louere; how that he would not suffer his Garde to follow him; how hee sent away the Capitaine thereof to the Pallace; how the Lieutenant is very sicke, the Enseigne gone

gone to visit the first President *de Harlay*; how that hee causeth his Caroch to bee opened on euery side, putteth of his cloke the better to lay open his side, how the footmen take an other way and leaue the Caroch; how the street is stopped vp with a Cart, I am enforced to say, that destiny coupleth together all things, to the same end, to make them fall out euen as it pleaseth, that all things seeme to fauour this damnable enterprize, that misfortune blindeth those whom she will ouer-throw, and vseth *Pittacus* his stratagem, who fighting a combate with *Pbrinon*, did so cunningly intangle him in the snares which he had hidden in his buckler, as being fast he easily slew him.

The force of man was weake and fearfull to attempt on the person of this Prince: Hell spewed forth the author from hir bottomlesse pitte. This wretch had lead a bad life, and among those who knew him, was accounted a cast-away,

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and a desperate fellow . He had a long time followed a sute in law about a succession, and hauing lost it, misery enforced his father and mother to begge, necessary pouerty made his resolution voluntary : He threw himselfe into the monastery of the Fueillants, and was throwne out again by reason of the weaknesse of his braine. Those who lodged him told me since that he was wholly subuerted, and that the word Huguenot would turne his folly into madnesse. His mind was still amazed, wauering and superstitious, susceptible of all impressions, and euer resenting the deprauation of his humors. He that walketh madde a mile neuer cometh home wise. The more his folly was aparent the more he thought it was hidden, and the duller he was the more he presumed of wisdome, and not accounting himselfe to be sick, he did not care for health, Afterwards he returned home into his owne contry where he continued a whole yeare in

in prisō for a murther. He became a knaue in the Pallace, a foole in the cloyster, and desperate in prison, in which place he had vizions and fancies, whereon, and vpon the false reports which he went vp and downe gathering against the Kings iustest and sincerest actions, or vpon those false impressions which were giuen him, and which he greedily receiued, he framed this execrable and damnable resolution to kill him. His courage would not suffer him to execute it so sodainly as he had resolved it: he did three whole yeares nourish the vipers of his thoughts in his bosome; he was affraid of it, & confessed, that at the very first motion his hair stood vpright, that sweat dropped downe from his fore-head, and a shaking ouer all his members. In this fury he made some iourneies from Angoulesme to Paris, the last was in the Easter-hollidayes, intending to execute his purpose, but he would first haue the Qu. to be crowned, because

(as he said) hee would not haue her to bee depriued of so iust and well-deserued an honor. If hee had stayed but one day longer, want would haue enforced him to haue gone home againe; for hee had but three *quartescus* left of all his money.

Resolving then not to let this cursed day slip without executing his cruell designe; he did drinke more freely then hee was wont, and continued a long time at the Louure, sitting on the stones at the gate, where the Laqueis attend for their Maisters. Hee thought to haue giuen the blowe betwixt the two gates: the place where hee stood gaue him some aduantage, but hee found the Duke *Espernon* to sitte in that place where hee thought the King would haue beene, and cutting a shorter way, hee tarried for him at one of the little shops which are towards the Innocents Church-yard, in the street called *La Ferronnerie*. In that street are many small houses and shopps which ioyneto
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the wall of the Innocents Church-yard. King *Henry* the second beeing at Compeigne the yeare 1554. the 14. of May, a fatall marke of the first yeare, and last day of this great Princes life, considering that this street was a crosse way in the City of Paris, and the Kings ordinary passage from the castle of Louuer to their house of Tournelles, and that the shoppes made it more narrow and vneasie, hee commanded that they should bee taken downe. The Edict was allowed in Parliament, and the execution neglected to our woe. This wretch sweating and in a heat, glides along by these shoppes.

At the entry into the street, the King saw *Montigni* in his Caroché, and according to his vsuall affability, culled vnto him, Seruant *Montigni*, Seruant *Montigni*. The Caroché entring into this street met with two carts on the right hand, the one loaden with wine, the other with hay: and that was the cause, that it tooke towards

the left hand, staying still and stopping euery moment. The foot-men were gone ouer Saint Innocents Church-yard; the Gentlemen could not come neere the Carroche, diuers men passed along betwixt the Carroche and the shoppes; this Tiger came the same way, his cloke hanging on the left shoulder, the knife in his hand, and his hat vppon it to hide it. The Kings sitting embouldened him. If his face had not beene from him, I thinketh that the reuerence and maiesty which Gods finger hath imprinted on the face of Kinges would haue kept him back. His right arme was about Duke Espernons necke, vnto whom he had giuen a paper to read, his left arme leaned on the Duke Mombasons shoulder, who turned away his head because hee would not seeme too curiously to hearken to that which the King spake softly: For hee gaue himselfe forward to speake to the Duke of Espenion, and the Marshall Lauardin these words.

At

At my returne from the Arcenall, I will shew you D'Escures his desaigne for the passage of mine Armie, you will be pleased therewith, and it hath much contented me.

At these words, this fury perceiuing that the King lay open with all his side, and that one of the foote-men, who alone might haue hindred him, tarried behind to tie his garter, gaue him two stabs with a knife ouer the wheele, & thought to haue giuen him more, but the Duke of Mom-bason receiued the third on his doubler sleeue. The first stabbe was betwixt the second and third ribbe, a fingers bredth gliding vnder the muskle pectorall, not hurting the Thorax. The second a little lower in the midst of the side betwixt the fifth and sixth ribbe the bredth of two fingers and past beyond one of the lippers of the lunges, euen to the very arterie, the which hee did cut a sunder beneath the left auricle of the hart. The King feeling the first hurt, did lift vp his arme,
and

and gaue more ouerture to the second. It was perceiued afterwards that the outward part of his doublet sleeue toward the hand, was stricken through in two places, and his shirt in three by reason it was folded and this confirmeth the murtherers speech, who said to diuers, *that hee had giuen three stabbes, but one alone did the deed.*

At the first the King said, *I am hurt*, but the second followed so sodainely as hee could hardly make an end of this word, *It is nothing*. For the blood ranne forth of his mouth like streames. Duke Espernon presently ariseth to lift him vppe, and besought him to thinke vppon God. Hee clasped his hands together and lifted vp his eyes towards Heauen. His soule bathed in the blood of the innocent lambe who was slaine from the beginning of the world doth gently leaue this body, reeking with bloud of wounds innocently receiued.

The Caroehe stood still: the way was
stopt

stopt, the street full of people, all things in amazement, and the Coach-man so affrighted, as hee could neither go forward nor backward. *Saint Michell*, one of his ordinary Gentlemen, drew his sword vpon this wretch, to haue slaine him, the Duke *Espernon* cried out, *that hee should not touch him, that it was as much as his life was worth, and that the King had no harme*. Hee drew the knife forth of his hand. The Count of *Curson* strake him on the throat with the pommell of his sword. *La Pierre*, one of the exempt Captains of the guards, seized on him, and deliuered him into the hands of the footmen, who committed him to *Montigni*. *De Liancour* came forthwith out of the Caroché, and went to the towne-house to take order for that which belonged to his charge. Others went to looke to the safety of my Lord the Dauphin. The Baron of Courtomer by a letter written by his owne hand, hath assured mee, that at the same instant, and in the

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same streete, the Marquis of la Force requested him to goe to the Arcenall to aduertize the Duke of Suilly of that accident, that going thitherwards he met with eight or ten men on foote, and two on horse-back, who saying to them-selues with blasphemies; *Hee must dye*, went forward toward this Tyger to assaile him: that he went before them with his drawne sword, and crolling their weapons, told them that the King was well, and had commanded that no man should hurt him. The first President beeing aduertised hereof, sent his sonne the Count of Beaumont vnto him, to demand whether hee could te'l what maner of men they were, hee answered that they were lost in the throng, and that in such a matter hee ought not to propound any incertainty.

This lamentable and perfidious stab was giuen so sodainly as no man perceiued it, the confusion was so great, that if this monster had thrown away his knife from him

him, he would not haue beene knowne in that amazement, for it was common: nor by the palenesse of his countenance, for he confessed, that he entred the Kings body as easily as into a bottle of hay. At that instant the diuell tooke from him all sorts of apprehensions, of respect, and iudgement.

After that the Caroché was turned back, the King was carried to the Louure. At the entring into the Court, they called for wine and Chyrurgians, but there was no need either of the one or other. The report of the hurt was already brought thither, but his death was not knowne till the comming of the Caroch, out of which they drew the dead King. He was carried and layd vppon the bed of the little Cabinet by the Duke of Mombason, de Vitry, the Marquis of Nermonstier, Sully one of the Squires, and certaine others whose names I could not learne.

Petit his chiefe Phisition told me, that he

gaue not vp the ghost till he was laid vpon the bed, and that hee hauing said vnto him, *Sir, remember God, say in your heart, Iesus thou sonne of David haue pittie vpon mee,* he opened his eyes thrice: Another Gentleman told me the same thing. But it is to be doubted whether the nature of the hurt did affoord him so much life, without being strangled with the bloud. *De Vic*, Councillor of State, going vp with the Chancellor and the other Lords of the councell, was there present, and tarried there all the night, shewing by that last duty, with what affection hee had carried all the former. The Archbishop of Ambun came thither, said the prayers and suffrages of the Church for his soules health.

It is reported that a Duke of Bourgondy had like to haue died for feare at the sight of the nine Worthies which a Magician shewed him. Greefe had like to haue choked in the place, those who in the turning
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of an hand did see this King of worthies
lye dead.

Albeit that I saw his shirt bloudy, his
stomach swelled with the aboundance of
bloud, his fore-head beginning to waxe
yellow, his eyes shut, his mouth open, the
crosse of his order lying vpon it, it seemed
vnto me that it was an illusion, mine ima-
gination contradicting mine eyes, beeing
not able to figure vnto me that I saw him
dead, who an houre before spake of no-
thing but to fight, vanquish, and triumph.

I said as other men did, is this that victo-
rious Prince vnto whom the whole world
hath given the title of *Great and Invincible*:
who by remoouing himselfe gaue motion
to the whole world, whose desseignes ele-
uated & discontents abated mēs courages,
whose menaces affrighted his enemies, &
lawes assured his subiects? This Prince
who sustained Christendom in hir weak-
nesses, did comfort it in her afflictions, af-
fured it in her feares, who by the force of

his wit, by the light of his iudgement, by the happines of his memory, by the proof of his experience, and by these three eyes of *prudence, knowledge, foresight, & remembrance*, knew how to doe, and did so well performe the hardest profession of all others, which is that of commanding men.

This Prince, so constant in affaires, so watchfull for occasions, so foreseeing in doubtfull matters, so moderate in prosperous, so discreet in difficult, who was neuer daunted in fight, was not troubled in dangers, & did not giue place to fortune, who knew what ought to bee feared and contemned, what was to bee desired and sought after. This Prince who did reason to al mé, who would know it in all things, so ready to diuert euill and aduance good, enuironed with al kinds of contentments, with glory and felicity aspiring to great matters, for the increase of Gods glory, the reputation of France, determining to reforme that which was yet in disorder, to
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mend those great peeces of workes which are equal to the proudest buildings, which haue carried the name of wonders, and euident workes; and resolving to cause learning and knowledge to refforish in the vniuersity of Paris, and Piety euery where, the *Great Henry* vnto whome the destinies, merits, and vertues, did promise the Monarchy of the whole world, dieth vpon the point of executing his promises. All the Princes, the Cardinalls, the Prelats and the Lords of the Court came to see him vpon the bed of his Cabinet; one kissed his fore-head, another his hand, diuers fell downe at his feete, all melted into teares. The Constable came thither likewise, and did much augment the sorrow of that spectacle, for complaining vnto God that hee had suffered him to liue so long and had taken away a Prince so necessary for Christendom, his speech & legs failed him. Their harts were cleft a sunder with complaints, their eies melted into teares, percei-

perceiuing those eyes to bee for euer extinct, which were the delights of all the Court, whose beames were so ardently and carefully desired and pursued as diuerse thought they had lost that day wherein they had not deserued some glance thereof.

Portrature in times past could not represent the sorrow of a father for the sacrificize of his daughter, eloquence could not expresse the Queenes greefe for the death of the King her Houseband. If that bee not the subiect of most iust teares nature hath none, sorrow findeth none, reason ordaineth none.

But after that eyes had paid such iust tribute to greefe, and that this Princesse had spent nine nights without sleeping, to giue satisfaction to her teares, and to keepe this mischiefe from spreding forth any further, shee shewed that God had reserued her to calme the violence of our miseries.

By

By this will wee beginne the History of hir Regency, and of the King her Sonnes raigne, where wee shall see how their Maiesties entertained these disastrous newes, and with what greatnesse of courage, affection and fidelity, they were served by the Princes and officers of the Crowne, Lords of the Councell, Gouvernors of Prouinces, and by the Citty of Paris, and by all the rest, where matters haue passed on in such sort, as France hath had matter to bee amazed in her amazement.

These discourses are like peeces forth of frame, if they bee represented out of time. All this merits a new volume: The History of Henry the fourth passeth no farther then his last gaspe, and where that endeth, there beginneth that of Lewis the thirteenth, the most happy sonne of a father, who was the ornament of ages past, and the admiration of succeeding times.

But it is against reason to put off till

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an other time the duties which were rendered to the greatnesse of his memory, to the honour of his buriall, to the reuenge of his death.

His History began at his Cradle, it must end at his hearse. Vpon Friday at midnight the Kings body being disrobed of a blacke sattin sute raced, without lace, was reuested with a white sattin doublet, and laid vpon the bed of his chamber, where he was seene, considered, wept for, and lamented by all the Citty of Paris. The heate of the season, and the bloud which was gathered together in his belly would not permit any longer to defer his opening. It was done on Satterday about foure of clocke, in the presence of foure-teene of the kings Phisitians, of whom the cheefe were, *Petit, Milon, de Dorme, Hero-uan*, foure Phisitians of Paris, eleuen of the Kings Chirurgians *Martel, Pigray, Guillemeau, Regnaud, &c.* They found him so healthfull, and all his partes so sound, as
had

had not this stab beene hee might haue atayned to a long and happy old age. They were likewise of opinion, that if he had beene trrasparent to the view of this parricide, he could not haue hurt him in a more deadly place. His bowells were sent to Saint Denis, by one of the gard, with fixe soldiers, and buried without any ceremony.

The Kings hart was shut vp in an hart of siluer. *La Varenne*, gouernor of Angiers, and Post-master of France, came to the Queene to put her in minde, that the Kings intention was, to haue it lye at laFlesche, where it was first formed; and to commit the keeping thereof to the Colledge of Iesuits. At this word, of the kings hart, the Queene receiued a new wound in her own, it being impossible that a wife should without greefe endure to haue her husbands hart demanded of her: She answered that seeing God had done his will, her desire was to haue the Kings performed,

shee commanded that the same hart should bee consigned into the hands of the father Iesuits, to carry it to la Flesche, and gaue charge of the conduct thereof to the Duke of Mombason. The Prince of Conty deliuered it Father *Iaquinot*, Rector of the professed house of Saint *Lewis* : Father *Cotton* gaue thanks in the name of the whole company. *De Vitry* caused foure and twenty Archers to march neere to the Caroché, and twelue torches, euen to their Church wherein this precious pawne remained certaine dayes. From thence it was carried well accompanied, and receiued with great pompe and magnificence into the towne of la Flesche, by *La Varenne*, his sonne the Baron of Saint *Susanne*, all the orders of the Citty, and after sundry honours, discourses and funerall Poems, it was set down in the church of the Iesuits colledge

The Kings body being enbalméd was laid in a coffin of lead, couered
with

with a bier of wood, vpon which was spread a great cloath of golde, and the Herse ouer that; two Altars vpon each side, where eightene daies together masses were said in the morning, and the suffrages at all houres, day and night, without intermission.

Prayers were made for him in all the Churches of France. Those whose doctrine suppose it to be vnprofitable for the dead, were not insensible of the publicke griefe of this accident, for, iudging it to be an effect of Gods anger vpon France, did ordaine thorow all the Prouinces where they haue Churches, a Generall fast, whose lawes dispense with no man, and it is performed with such discipline, as the bodies endure hunger all the day, and the soules are fed, either in speaking to God, or hearing his word.

From the Chamber it was carried to the Presence, where was yeelded to his effigie, at dinner and supper times, the seruices

due to the originall when it was liuing. Herevpon the Queene was counselled to enterre King *Henry* the third, King of France and Poland, and to yeeld vnto him those duties which the liuing owe to the dead, and which for fundry great respects had not beene performed in their due time. The Duke of Espernon, *Belle-gard* maister of the horse, were commanded to go to Compeigne, to cause the coffin to bee brought to *S. Denis*. The discourse of his funerall shall be seene in the end of his history. Wee must not make a story heere, but onely to consider, how that France in eight dayes space, hath seene two Kings interred, vniustly and perfidiously slaine by two stabbes of a knife.

Eight dayes after, the funerall pompe was solemnized. The enterments of the French Kings, since *Charles* the eight, haue euer held one selfe same order, hee that seeth the picture of the one, beholdeth that
that

that of all the rest, there is nothing to bee added therevnto, but the noting of times and places, and mens names. If in it there hath beene any alteration at all, it is onely in more or lesse sumptuousnesse. But as this great Prince did in so many sorts surpass his predecessors, the Queene likewise would haue his obsequies in expence and magnificence, to out-goe all that had beene before.

The effigie hauing remained tenne or twelue dayes in the presence, for the manner is not to let it stay there any longer, was taken thence, the body laide vppon Trestles, and the Chamber hung with black. The King clothed with a royall mantle of purple, came thither with my Lords his bretheren, the Princes of his bloud, and the Lords of the Court, and besprinckled it with holy-water. The Soueraigne companies performed the same ceremony on other dayes.

The Chancelor with the aduice of the Coun-

Councell decreed that in the proclamation he should be surnamed, *Henry the great, Incomparable in Magnanimity and Clemency.* Titles which he had deserued, as well for the quality of his person, as for the fauours of his fortunes, and the merits of his vertues.

That great extent of persons and honors, which reached from the gate of Paris to that of Saint Denis, may as well be comprehended by imagination as discourse, if we will figure to our selues great numbers of burning torches, five hundred poore persons, diuers lame soldiers clad in black, and if we adde therunto all the Clergie of Paris, for all Congregations regular and secular went along the *Char-treux* & the *Celestins* excepted. The Iesuits presented themselves to go with it. All the Soueraigne companies, the ordinary Iustice of Paris, all the faculties of the vniversity. The houshold, the Milicia, and the Kings Stable. All this was the conuoy.

That

That which followeth, was ordained for the pompe. The Chariot of armes drawne with fixe horse, wherein lay the Kings body. His effigie enuironed with the Court of Parliament in scarlet gowns, the Canopy carried ouer it by the Prouost of Marchants and Sheriffes of the citty of Paris. The hand of Iustice, the Scepter, and Crowne. The Kings Armor was carried, the Sword sheathed, the Helme crested with the Mantelet, the coate Armor, Shield, Gantlet, Spurres, the Pennons, Banners and Ensignes of all the companies crespèd with black. The horse of honor, twelue horses mounted by twelue Pages. The Bishops, Archbishops, Ambassadors and Cardinalls.

After followed the mourning, wherein were my Lord the Prince of Conty, my Lord the Count of Soissons, the Lords of Guise, Ioinuille, Elbæuf, the Dukes of Espernon, and Mombason, the Knights of the order, and diuerse Lords. At other

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times

times the Kings Children did mourne. The body of *Clotaire* was conducted by his foure Children from Compeigne to Soifons, *Lewis the grosse*, yeelded that duty to *Phillip the first*, his brother. *Lewis the 8.* to *Phillip Augustus*, *Phillip the 3.* to *Lewis 9.* *Charles the 5.* to *Iohn. Charles Duke of Orleance*, and *Henry Duke of Aniou*, mourned at the obsequies of *Henry the second* their father.

The Ceremonies which vpon such occasions ought to be certaine, are altered according to the times. That which seemeth to be fit in one season, is not so at another. Because saith *Du Tillet*, that they haue not any certainty. At other times the effigie was laid vpon the coffin, to mooue the people to honour the body which was within it, and for to shew that the King dyeth not; and that the administration of Justice, the first and principall office of a King ceaseth not, the court of Parliament hath euer enuironed it. At the Funerall

rall of King *Francis* the first it was diuided from the coffin, and from that seperation proceedeth the disputation concerning the place which the Bishop of Paris is to hold in that Ceremony,

On Tuesday the 29. of Iune, the Coffin was conducted to our Ladies Church, and placed vnder the burning Chappell. The Princes of the bloud, and the Lords that mourned fate downe on the right side of the Quier, the court of Parlament placed it selfe on the left. On wednesday after the seruice, the funerall oration being pronounced by the Bishop of Ayre, and dinner ended, it was conducted in the same order to Saint Denis. Beyond the suburbe the rankes were broken, those that were on foot mounted their horses and Caroches, this graue and goodly order vanished. *Montespan*, *Vitry*, and *Pralin*, Captains of the Guards, did not leaue the chariot of armes, hauing declared that their charge obliged them to serue the body and not the effigie.

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The Monks of Saint Denis came to receive it at the hanging crosse, they made some doubt that the King was buried, and that the body was not in the coffin, the great and excessiue heat not permitting to keepe him any longer in his Chamber, where it was soone knowne that he had not beene well enbalmed. *Vitry* assured them that it was the kings very body, that there was no deceit, and that the greatest Kings are made of none other mettall then the meanest men on earth.

The Ceremony needed no borrowed weepers, nor hired teares. Euery one did afford them with aboundance, those which had not their eyes ful of teares, had their hearts voyd of pittie and commiseration. Sorrowes were strangely redoubled and brake forth into great cryes, as he was layd into the graue with the honours that were done vnto it. When the Count Saint *Paul*, executing in that action the office of great maister, told them that

that the King was dead, and when after him the Heralds thrice proclaimed ouer the graue *The King is dead*, al harts followed him in thought and many in desire. Teares, which constancy and grauity held in, that they might not appeare, were no lesse bitter then those which common greife did cast forth to be seene. If any one had strength to resist teares, it was wanting to fight with sorrow.

To tell now what the lamentation of Paris was, is to goe about to perswade a matter incredible to him that hath not seene it; in all places fountaines of teares were discerned to flow forth; in all places cries & gronings of the people wer heard: they seemed to be knockt downe, so greatly had the violence of sorrow danted and amazed them. If it be demanded from whence this extreame greefe came, the answere is ready *From loue*, From whence this loue? *from the Kings goodnesse*. Paris beareth the immortall proofs of his great
and

and immense goodnesse. Who did more offend him then Paris? vnto whom hath hee shewed more loue then to Paris? Forgetting all his riots and debauches, hee taketh Paris, sets it at liberty, dealeth by those like a Father, who before his entrance called him Tyrant. Since then hee hath still laboured to restore her ruines, and to cause it to forget both the remembrance and feeling thereof, to the end it might say, *that it had beene plunged in a gulfhe of miseries, onely to come forth thereof more happy and more mighty.*

Paris did neuer more flourish then vnder his reigne, hauing in that Cittie builded other Citties to embellish and enrich it. *If I were assured (said hee) of as much time as would suffice mee for two great peeces of worke, I would build the Louvre, and enclose the Suburbes of Paris with walles, and then I would vaunt to haue built the goodliest House, and the greatest Cittie in the world.*

All other Citties, in comparison of Paris, seemed vnto him but Pyes-nests, and held for a fable whatsoeuer was spoken of Quinzey, grand Cairo, Cambalu, and Cassagale.

Hee tooke a pride in shewing to strangers the wealth, and the publick and particular commodities of this abridgement of the world, and tooke no delight in new inuentions to charge it. Goodly and Royally ingenious was the answer which hee made to the Prouost of Marchants and Sheriffes of Paris, who besought him to allow of some small taxe vppon the conduit-pipes of the Citty, to help them to beare the charge of feasts and presents which they were to make to the fortie deputies of the Suiſſes and their traine. Hee heard them concerning this new inuention, and then answered. *Finde out some other matter, it belongeth onely to* **IESVS CHRIST** *to turne water into wine.*

When

When men spake of the insolencies and ryots of that Citty during the troubles, he had rather to lay the fault on those that ledde them, then to brand his fore-head with the shame of her sedition and disobedience. *The people of Paris (said hee) is good, it goeth as it is ledde. Mischiefe cometh from those that goe before, and not from their simplicity which follow after, and grow bad by infection.*

These torrents of teares did ouer-flow the whole countrey, It was pittie to behold thorow all the Prouinces of France the poore countrey-people to be gathered together in troopes on the high wayes all amazed, their armes folded, to learne of those that passed by this disastrous newes, and when that they were assured thereof, a man might see them to scatter themselves like sheepe without a shepheard, not simply weeping, but crying out and roaring as mad-men about the fields. This sorrow sprang from this Princes
care

care to haue them liue in peace.

He was extreamely displeased with the exactions which the poore people endured by vsury and petti-fogging by law; Hee was not insensible of their miseries: Hee did not beare them as the high Preist did the names of the twelue Tribes without, hee had them imprinted in the bottom of his heart, with a wonderfull discontent for that the necessity of his affaires would not permit to ease them; and considering on a time that the taxes were excessiue in sondry places of the kingdome hee said, *my people are made to pay a double taxe, one to Mee and another to my Officers. The second makes the first insupportable, for the expences of the officers amount to more then the taxe; It is a hard matter to keepe my selfe vnrobd, and almost impossible but that my people should be so: When hee rode about the country, hee would stay to speake to the people, to question with those that passed by, whence they*

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came

came, whether they went, what commodities they carried, what the price of every thing was, with other particularities; and observing that it seemed unto diuers, that this popular facility did offend his Kingly grauity, he said, *The Kings my predecessors held it dishonor to know the worth of a Teston, but as for me, I would I knew the value of a farthing, and with how much labour these poore people vse to get it; to the end they might not be charged aboue their ability.*

The great numbers of Orations and Funerall Poems which were made in sundry places vpon his death, are so many proofes how deare this Princes life was, and his losse lamentable to the whole world.

The Vniuersity of Paris hath shewed it selfe to be the Nurse of gallant wits, the Queene of Europes Athens. The Schooles and Academies of those of the Religion haue produced diuers goodly
and

and excellent writings in sundry Languages vppon the same subiect: learned men of forraine Countries haue not beene silent in this generall affliction.

As this great Kings actions haue euer beene more admired then followed, more followed then equalled: euen so haue we seene discourses therevppon, which can neither be surmounted nor imitated.

If passion did not carry away matters with the selfe same hatred that it beareth to the places and persons from whence they come, it would allow of that which is publikely rehearsed in a cōmon wealth which hath not breathed but vnder this Princes protection, deserueth to be reckoned among the rarest and excellentest peeces. But his triumph needeth not our lawrels, his memory contemneth our marbles, his merits surpasse our discourses, his happinelle derideth our Complaints, and his thoughtes

are not ours. The report of this death was forth-with spread ouer all the world, and did out-goe the accident in sundry places.

This is not the first time that these terrible blowes haue beene sooner published then felt. Diuerse Kings of Christendome entertained these newes with sorrow, all with amazement, hauing but too much subiect to deplore their misery, whom they accounted so happy. It hath beene a stratagem of nature, to bring forth men incapable of reason, for if they had any they would neuer accept the entrance into this world. If the soules of great Princes knew their fortunes and dangers, and lastly the violent deaths wherevnto their bodies are subiect, they would neuer animate them. If they had any choyce, they would sooner enter into those of shepheards, to bee if not more happy, at least more contented.

The King of England had the first newes thereof beeing on hunting. His feeling was such, as hee presently dispatcht messengers to his Councell at London, and maintained that words were not capable to expresse his griefe, adding this verse in Latin, which saith, *That light griefes speake, and great ones are dumbe.* Hee renewed the Edicts against the Catholicks, and fearing least the ceremony of the declaration of the Prince of Wales might bee disturbed by some sinister accident, he commanded them not to come within ten miles of the assembly, and Priests to depart forth of the Realme.

Before then, hee had sent the King word by *De Vitry*, that hee desired to oblige himselfe to him by a reciprocall and solemne oath, that the children of him that should first dye, should remaine in the survivors protection, who should take vpon him the defence of them and their states towards all men, and against

all men, hee remembred it, did make a new oath to keepe his word, and to employ all his meanes to reuenge the death of so good a brother, and so great a King.

All the feelings of Princes were but shadowes compared to the sorrow and complaints of the Duke of Sauoy: Hee lost both his rest and dyet, and held that for a piercing and sensible offence which the Spanish Ambassador said vnto him: *That of a certaine, God did loue the house of Sauoy; for without this death, the Duke had beene ruined.*

The Pope could not sleepe all that night; hee prayed for the soule of this great Prince; said that this losse was common to the Church, and to all Christendome; hee caused certaine yong men to bee condemned to the Galleys, who thinking that this death would free their Prince and Countrey of a redoubted enemy, had termed that Parricide their

their Restorer, and had drunke to his health.

Hee felt to the quick the Queenes sorrow, and the wrong which was done to the King, hee did forth-with dispatch letters to the principall officers of the kingdome, to coniure them to continue towards the sonne those proofes of loue and fidelity which they had rendered to the father. And though Popes are sildome present at Funeralls, hee would needes bee there, and heard the Funerall Oration pronounced by *Iaques Segnier*, who gaue vnto this great Prince the true titles of his vertues and merits, stiling him, *Protector of the publick tranquillity; The ornament of the Catholick Church, the Vmpier of Christian Princes, the Delight of the world.* An Elogie which not satisfying the Popes loue, hee sent him word, that hee had not sayd enough.

The King of Spaine was sodainly awaked

awaked when this newes was brought him, & not knowing what it was, demanded, if the king had denounced warre against him: he will neuer do it, for he is slaine, answered the marquis of Velada. At that word he said, being pressed with truth and sorrow, *That the greatest Captaine of the world was dead*, he remained for a time speechlesse, and the Queene wept with warme teares. When he vnderstood that he which had done the deed was in prison and aliue, he praised God for it, to the end that they might be knowne who had set him a worke, and that slander might not preuaile ouer the innocent,

The Archduke resolving to giue him all kind of content, being assured that the storme should not fall vpon his Countries, vnlesse he did prouoke him, did not in his priuat sorrow disemble the publique losse. That generous Princesse borne of a flower de luce of France, did more cleerely euaporate the fier of her thoughtes, and
said

said, *That Christendome had lost the glory and ornament of Kings.*

The Kings of Poland, Sueuia and Denmarke, bewailed his death, cherishing his Pictures with an eternall loue, and recommending to their children the admiration and imitation of the heroick actions of his life.

The Emperors domestick discontents did not keepe back this sorrow from entering into his solitude, nor himselfe from considering where-vnto worldly greatnesse doe tend. The going vp to them is sharpe and slippery, the top trembling, the downe-fall fearefull, wee ascend to them with great difficulty, they cannot be kept but with feare, and the descent from them is a Precipice. The Princes of Germanie sayd, *That the burning torche of Kings was extinct*. Hee was lamented and bewailed by the Suisses, and by the States of the Netherlands, as a Father by his Orphane children. The Lords of

Venice, said with teares in their eyes, *Our King is dead.*

Wee cannot expresse the grieve of other Countries, which sweetly liued at quiet vnder the shadow of the victories and prosperities of this great Prince, and which were couered vnder his protection, as the Chicken pursued by the Kite couereth it selfe vnder the wing of the damme. The great Turkes account all Christian Princes but dung, they thinke nothing to bee worthy to bee equalled with them. It was wondered that *Mahomet* endured the comparison betwixt himselfe and *Mathias Coruin*, but as *Amurath* and *Mahomet* haue admired the great and warlick actions of this Prince, euen so *Acmet* their succellor hauing notice of this death, thought that the Columnne which vpheld the Christian Empire was dead.

We haue already heretofore obserued, how that the report of his death, did in diuerse

diuerſe places fore-runne the certainty thereof. D' Arſens Ambaſſador to the States told me, that he could produce before the Queene, hundreds of perſons, who affirmed this report to bee publiſhed in Flanders before the arrivall of the Poſts. I have heard the Queene ſay, That her Jeweller had received letters from thence, written at the ſame time, whereby hee was entreated to write back whether it were true that the King was ſlaine. The report often-times of theſe great accidents are ſpred abroad among the people without any certaine Author, and when wee go about to ſeek out the cauſe, they are loſt among the throng like waues in a vaſt ſea.

Demons and Sorcerers do vndertake to bring ſpeedy newes from farre. The late King hath often told the tale of a ſpirit belonging to a foot-man of an Earle of Foix, who perceiuing that his Maſter could not ſleepe, being troubled with the incertainty of the ſucceſſe of a matter

*Hee brings
the Queene
the report
of the King
slaine*

either of some siege or battaile, did on a sodaine bring him all the particularities thereof, so as this Prince, without stirring from his house at Coraze, (where this spirit is yet to be heard), knew whatsoeuer was done ouer all Europe. In this manner did *Apollonius Thyaneus*, see at Ephesus how *Domitian* was slaine at Rome, and *Cajus Cornelius* tarrying in Padua was at the battaile of Pharsalia.

This doth not exclude the beleefe of the truth of Visions and Reuelations which God giueth to his seruants, nor of the care which the Angells haue that are appointed guardians and defenders of states, to cause people to know these great and important motions. The Christians in Palestine, had notice of the resolution of releefe which the Christian princes had promised them vpon the very same day that the decree was concluded in the coucell of Clermont.

This is memorable. A secular priest of
Doway.

Doway, who, for his religious and holy life, hath merited the common report to haue dyed happily, had before his death three extacies: after the two first he spake of things, which, because they were not vnderstood, were not considered; beeing come againe to himselfe from the third as from a profound rapture, he cried out, *that they were killing the greatest Monarch of the Earth.* It is obserued that this word was spoken at the very same time that the stabbe with the knife was giuen,

We must goe on no farther without astonishment, because that on the very same fourteenth day of May, which shal euer be marked with blacke in the Kalenders of France, a Nunne of the Abbey of Saint Paul in Picardy, sister to *Villers-bodan* Gouvernour of Diepe, being not very wel, was visited in her chamber by hir abbess, sister to the Cardinall *Souray*, and after that they had entertained one another with discourses fit for their condition shee

she cried out without any trouble, or such agitations and feare proper to Enthousiasts, *Madam, pray vnto God for the King, for they are killing him,* and within a while after, *Alas, he is dead!* By conferring the wordes with the deed, it was found that all this was done in one hower, The piety and simplicity of this Nunne, doth not permit this to be referred to any other power then that of God, who causeth his seruants to see thinges a farre off, as though they were present.

This manner of death, so sodaine, so smally preuented did amaze the whole world, euery man thought vpon his conscience, and diuers Lords of the Court by putting on mourning habit for this death, did likewise take vpon them the resolutions of the contempt of this life, and said for a while, that which a great Trompet of the Church said euer, *O life, which hast deceiued so many, Seduced*

so many, blinded so many, thou art nothing at thy beginning, thy light is but a shadow, thou art but smoke at thy height, thou art sweet to fooles, thou art bitter to wise men, who loveth thee knowes thee not, who knoweth thee contemnes thee.

The great ones who all their life long runne after the dreames and vapors of the world, whose thoughtes are wholly anchored vpon the earth, and their hopes have no farther extent then the earth, did in the picture of this death behold that of the vanity of their greatnes and ambition, things so vaine and fraile, as when they seeme to glister and twinkle like Diamonds, they vanish from our sight, and breake them-selues in peeces like glasse.

Their spirits beeing touched with this death as with an Adamant, should without ceassing turne towards the firme and fixed Pole of that truth,

That what-so-ever is vnder Heauen
is

is nothing but vanity, and that the world passeth away with his couetousnesse. The report of this accident was a mighty voyce, which awaked them, to make them consider, that the earth is not their dwelling-place, but the passage to an happier aboad: that the pleasures, delights, and contentations of the Pallaces wherein they dwell in this world, doe oblige them to take care to bee well lodged in an other, because it is yrkesome to depart forth of a faire and goodly house, and to enter for euer into a foule and lothsome cottage.

It resteth now to see how publick Iustice, being transgressed by this enormous crime, hath beene satisfied by the vile and wretched sacrifice of this Parricide. By and by after this mischiefe, the Queene sent the President *Iarin*, *Lomenie*, Secretary of State, & *de Bullion*, Councillor of State, to the House of Raiz, to examine him, and to know what would follow this detestable blow. What hee then told them was

was the selfe-same that hee afterwards spake, and their censure was the same of all other wise-men, who haue held this wretch for a melancholick fellow; They made a shew that the King was not dead, nor his hurt mortal, supposing with more ease to draw from him the truth of this instigation, and that the lesse the mischief was, the easier would bee the confession: but hee told them, *That hee knew well enough that hee was dead:* A while before, hee had said, *That the knife entred so farre into him, as his fist touched the Kings doublet.*

They found certaine Papers about him, and among others, verses for one that is to be carried to execution: hee said that an Apothicary of Angoulesme made them, who had shewed it him to haue his opinion thereof, because that hee had vsed to make verses. I noted that hee had written it with passion and attention, as if hee did meane to make vse of it him-

selfe, for the words which he did set down for the last violent leaps of a soule in that taking, were written more curiously, and in different letters from the other, and because he said *that he had euer bin desirous to tell the King that hee ought to make warre vpon those of the Religion*, they askt him, who had giuen him that counsell; he answered, *that they were not to know it, and that hee would tel it to his Confessor.* This I haue seen in the originall. I saw him within a while after in the Hostell of Raiz, where telling mee *that hee had beene a Fueillan, and that hee was expulsed from that company for composing writings concerning certaine visions and meditations vppon Gods iudgments.*

I then perceiued that melancholy had troubled his spirits with her fumes, had made him capable of diabolicall suggestions and impressions, that torture would sooner make triall of his obstinacie, then enforce his conscience.

He

Hee had imprinted in his imagination a beleefe cleane contrary to the Kings piety and Iustice. He had in times before beene called in question for a murther, and *Sanguin*, Councillor in the court of Parliament, had drawne his processe. Thervpon, an other councillor told him, *that it had bin good for him & all France that he had beene punished for it, for then he should not haue slaine the Lords anointed and the most Christian King.* He answered. *It is a Question to know whether he were the most Christian king.* From the time that this cursed resolution was framed in his mind he did (like the viper) conuert into poison what-soeuer he heard to be well spoken of this Prince.

Many, hauing iudiciously considered his manners and motions, haue thought that those visions which had so much troubled him in his sleepe and waking, the interior voyces which affrighted him day and night, and a number of other violent

impulfions were manifest tokens of the obsession of the Diuell. A fellow that often lay with him said, *That a spirit did awake and torment him in the night*, and when he was askt who it was, he answered, *It is mine Vncle which craueth some ease of his paines.*

He had besides his disposition to such fooleries, a proud and furious conceit of witt aboue all other men, an arrogant presumption to haue a share in Gods Councells, to be able to decipher his wills, and to be chosen to execute them. Therevpon he did brutishly declaime against higher powers, and said, *that it was necessary they should be chastised*. From this damnable Thesis, *That it was lawfull to kill a Tyrant*, he went on to this false hypothesis, *that the King was worse*, and his chiefe tyranny was, for that he would not make war vpon the Huguenots, which is as much to say, as, because he did not kill them, to make them to beleeeue, and did not set his kingdome

dome on fier, to clense it. It is certaine that in this deluge of wordes, and among so many slanderous speeches, which he vttered, Truth, nor his owne Conscience would not permit him to call the King a Tyrant. Whatsoever he spake against the life of this Prince was inspired into his soule, by the same counsell that had practised his death, He that did the first murther told the first lye.

But it was impossible to perswade the people but that this blow had some other setter on then the Diuill, and to be certaine thereof they impatiently desired that this *Schelme* (France hath no word horrible enough to expresse so many abominations) might be deliuered ouer to the Parliament, that in so extraordinary a matter there was no need to stand scrupulously vpon all the ordinary formes, that all his kindred were to be seazed vpon, with all those whom he had conferred with, and that forth-with the truth would bee knowne.

But

But those high spheres doe not gouerne their motions by that of the inferior.

On Saterday, the xv. of May at night hee was brought to the Conciergery of the pallace. The first President *du Harley*, the President *de Blasmenil*, the councellors *Boin* and *Courtin*, did dilligently and exactly labour to frame his Proceſſe. The Queene did often-times ſend the Marquis of Ancre to acquaint them more confidently with her intentions, and how deſirous ſhee was to haue the truth knowne. Shee ſent them word, how that a Butcher had offered to flea that wretch alive, promiſing, to cauſe him to hold out a long time, and to reſerue ſtrength enough in him to endure the execution after that his ſkinne ſhould bee flead off.

The Court imputed this propoſition to the zeale of a great Princeſſe, who would haue the whole world to know, that Juſtice had omitted nothing for the
repa-

reparation of that publike offence, nor for the discouery of the branches and springs thereof. It did commend the affection of a widdow, pierced thorow with griefe, who pursued the iust reuenge of her husbands death, and the care of a charitable mother that feared for the King her sonne, not thinking, but that if this blow was deuised for the father, the like was meant towards the Princes his children.

His Maiesty supposing that if this wretch could bee brought to repent him of his crime, hee would more freely declare who had set him on to do it: thought it fit that hee should be visited by Doctors and religious persons, who should so dispose his soule, as it might apprehend eternall torments rather then temporall.

Diuerse particular persons spake to him in the Conciergery and vnto all of them he told onctale, *how that no man living had concelled or urged him there vnto.*

Hee

Hee that should take vpon him to set downe all his speeches vpon this subiect, with all the escapes of his fury and madnesse, might augment this volume with superfluities: wee must keepe our selues to his answers before his Iudges, who haue obserued that (his brutish speeches against higher powers excepted) in all other matters hee was ignorant and blockish.

The question was not of knowing who had committed the mischiefe, but who had councelled and willed it to bee done, *Seruin, Le Bret*, the Kings Aduocates, *Durret* the first substitute to the Atturney Generall, did therein vse whatsoeuer wisdom, iudgment and sharpnesse of witte might conceiue. They called before them all those with whom the offender had conferred, they examined two *Iacobins*, and finding great sincerity and simplicity in them, sent them away. They vsed a yong Friar with the same gentlenesse, of whom

whom the offender had askt this question. *Whether a Penetenciary ought to reueale the confession of one, who should tell him that hee had beene tempted to kill a King:* This yong Frier, either thorough insufficiency or amazement, made him no answer. They deliuered him ouer to his superiors, wishing them to vse meanes, if, by the forme of Regular discipline, they could draw any farther light from him; and because the *Iacobins* said, that vppon the same question they had sent him to father *Aubigni* the Iesuit, who was a man much vfed in the resolutions of cases of conscience, they sent for him likewise, and examined him exactly therevpon. Hee told *Servin* in particular that since by the disposing of his superiours hee had giuen ouer preaching, to apply him-selſe altogether to Confessions, God had giuen him that singular grace, presently to forget whatſouer had beene told him vnder the ſeale of Confession.

The offender answering before the Commissioners, nothing would euer be drawn from him, which might giue any knowledge of those who had councelled or hartned him to this deed; he would neuer reueale the setter on, protesting that hee had not bin induced nor councelled ther-vnto by any man, and that in confession hee had neuer bewrayed his designe, fearing least it should bee reuealed, and himselfe put to death, as well for the will as for the deed. Hee said that the resolution of his attempt, which hee termed a temptation, proceeded from certaine visions and meditations which hee had had watching, and because that he had beene made to belecue that the Kings Armie was appointed to march against the Pope.

That a certaine man of Angoulesme had told him how that the King had said, *That his predecessors had raised vp Popes, & that it was in his power to hurle them downe:*

That

That a Soldier, speaking of the Kings designs, said, that hee would serue him, though against the Pope, beeing not bound to enquire of the causes or motions of the warre. That these reports had made him to resolute vpon the deed, beleeuing; that to make warre vpon the Pope, was to doe it against God: That the Huguenots hauing attempted in the Christmas holy-dayes to kill the Catholicks, the King had not punished them: That in this opinion he had beene desirous to speake to the King, making meanes for that purpose to diuerse persons, who iudging of his witte by his discourse had still councelled him to returne home to his house. That at the beginning of the yeare hee came to the Louare, offered himselfe to speake to the King, and was kept back by the guardes:

That hee had onely once spoken to Father Aubigni the Iesuit, concerning his Visions and Meditations, and had shewed him a broken Knife, where-vpon was engra- uen a Hart and a Crosse, telling him, that hee

thought that the King ought to conuert those of the Religion to the Catholick Church: That Aubigni had exhorted him to haue recourse vnto God, and to make meanes to some great man to come to speake with the King, and to use broths to settle his braine. Aubigni being heard, and confronted by the offender, said, that it was all false and counterfeit.

All men laboured to know the Author, and desired to bee inuentors of new torments to pluck it forth of the vilans bosome, euery man thought that if they vsed him gently, they should vse all other men cruelly. Balbany Inuentor of the new Cesternes, made offer, and did make an engin in manner of a butter-churne, or Obeliske turned vpside down, which he shewed to Seruin. The body beeing put into it, slided downe with its owne weight, was thrust hard together, as the churne shrunk in, and did sinke downe, in such sort as the shoulders were fastned to the heeles with torments slowly cruell, the body notwithstanding

standing loosing none of it strength, for in foure houres after it might bee made to endure the same torment againe.

The violentest tortures are not the cruellest, those who suffer them can not long endure them, and the extremity of paine dulleth the senses Those that are most long and languishing, are most bitter and sharpe. The court of Parliament thought it not fit to apply any other torments then vsuall.

But it was a question whether the offender should be tortured before his condemnation. The antient manner would not permit it, for tortures are appli'd but in two cases, the one before iudgement to draw forth prooffe of the fact, the other after to know the complices and authors. It was not needfull to know the truth of the matter, for the offender confessed it, and was taken with the manner. They found a decree, wherby one who had attempted to poison King *Lewis* the eleventh,

uenth, was tortured sondry times and on sondry dayes before his condemnation.

Heerevpon the Parla^ment decreed that he should be tortured three sondry times and on three sondry dayes, but because he endured the first with so great certainty and continuance of his answers, without varying or change, and fearing least his strength being weakned hee would not haue force enough to endure the execution, they did not continew the tortures; they did likewise perceiue, that all the torments which he had endured, with those which he was to suffer, were not of force to alter his speech.

La Guesle the Kings Atturney generall, striuing with his sicknesse, caused him-selfe to bee carried to the Court of Parla^ment to take his conclusions with the Kings Aduocates, and considering that so great and horrible a mischeefe, whose

whose like was not to be found in ages past, and which brought feare and scandall to posterity, ought to be punished with torments extreamely seuer, he craued, with their consents, besides the tearing with pincers and the dismembring of that wretched body, a new kind of torture by adding to the burning pincers, molten lead, skalding oyle, burning pitch, wax, and brimstone incorporated together. Man could not inuent a payne more sensible and pearcing.

The Parlements of France haue neuer vsed the like, in antient time they haue beene vsed apart in great executions, and in most seuer reuenges, but this Parricide was the first who felt the mixture of all those ingredients.

It was great reason by vnknowne meanes to seek satisfaction for so vnrecoverable a losse.

The conclusions being taken the people
of

of Paris did greatly desire to see the execution of that man, borne for the ruine and desolation of men, who had slaine the noblest man living, and because they feared that if his health did impaire, as it was likely it would, he should endure lesse then hee ought, the first President besought the Queene that it might please hir to make an end of him. Hir Maiesty who had desired this delay, in hope that time would giue light to this darknes, referred the matter to the discretion of the court.

The great Chamber, the Tournelle, & that of the edict, being assembled, they proceeded to the iudgment of the Indictment: whatsoeuer had beene done before the Commissioners being read and noted the offender was heard. He reserued one trick of his folly to tell being vpon his stoole. Being in the Church of viuona beyond Poitiers, he saw in a vision a Moore in a triangle. He entreated a painter (who lay with him) to lend him his pen and Ink
to

to set it downe in writing. The Painter gaue him one made in forme of a triangle and shewed him the picture of a Moore. His imagination beeing wakened, and heated with these obiects, obserued them and tooke them for interpreters of what he vnderstood not. His minde, euer prompt and ready to his hate against the King, made him thinkethat this Moore was like him, that all the water in the sea would not wash him cleane, and therevpon he framed strange Chimeraes. This was the reuelation which he kept so secret and misterious as he neuer reuealed it till at last.

His furious speeches against the King made men beleue that his mind had beene pre-occupied with bad impressions and his wicked and scelerous resolution strengthened and maintained by the doctrine to kill Kings. Therefore the Court in iudging his procelle decreed, that the Colledge of Sorbone should be assembled

to renew their antient decree of the yeare 1413. confirmed in the councell of Constance the yeare 1415. declaring this opinion to murder Princes vnder collour of Tyranny to bee hereticall and impious, opening a dore to all sorts of disloyalties and rebellions, the foundation of that furious Anarchy, published in times past in Bohemia, Germany, Scotland and France in the times of trouble and confusion, and reuiued in Spaine in time of peace, after the death of *Phillip* the second. This craueth a large discourse, which belongeth to the History of the new raigne, wherein shall be seene how this cursed doctrine, the cut-throate of Kings hath been detested and thundred against.

The fact being apparent, the offender conuicted, they had no more to doe but to ordaine a punishment as great as the deed was heinous. They consulted whether they ought to inuent a new. But the court hauing euer detested punishments
of

of extreame rigor, they thought that those who were already inuented were sufficient to punish the fact; that they ought to borrow none of strangers, nor leaue their vsuall custome, considering that it did punish men of flesh, not of brasse, Christians and not Turks: and because those who had attempted a gainst the life of Kings without effect had beene drawne with foure horse and torne with pincers, and that heere the attempt was followed by the execution, they thought it reason to adde thereunto (following the conclusions of the Kings learned councell) lead, wax, oyle and pitch melted together. Heerevpon there were some who said that in the ptunishment of offences men ought not so much to respect the time past as that to come; that offenders were not only punished because they shou'd perish but to keepe others from perrishing, that punishments were not so much ordained to put the guilty to death, as to leaue behind an example and detestation of the fact: that there were

penalties in the lawes of the Romans which had neuer beene executed, as that which permitted creditors to cut in peeces the bodies of their debtors, that pouring hot lead into the wounds, made with the pinfors, it was to be feared that the prisoner would presently faint and dye, and that the residue of the punishment would be ended on a dead body. That therefore they were of opinion to referre it to the sight and discretion of the executioner, whether the offender had strength enough to endure the molten lead; if not, to pour some other liquor which should not haue the same sence and feeling on the members of the offender, and yet neuerthelesse for example should worke the same effect in the peoples sight.

All matters being well considered by the courts-decree he was declared to be worthely attainted and conuicted of diuine and humane treason in the highest degree, for the most mischeeuous, most
abominable

abominable & most detestable murther, committed on the person of the King of most happy and famous memory.

And for satisfaction thereof, it condemned him to make an honorable amends before the great gate of the Cathedrall Church of Paris, naked in his shirt, holding a burning torche in his hand of two pound weight, and to declare, that wickedly and treacherously he did kil the King with two stabs of a knife in the body: from thence beeing brought to the Greue, vpon a Scaffold, his pappes, brawnes of his armes, and calues of his legges, to bee torne with burning Pincers, his right-hand holding in it the knife where-with hee committed the murther to bee burnt off with fire of Brimstone, and on the places where hee shall bee torne with Pincers, molten lead to bee cast, scalding oyle, burning pitch and rosin, wax and brimstone melted together. That done, his body to bee drawne and dismembred

with foure horse, his members and body consumed with fire, and scattered in the wind, his goods confiscate, the house where hee was borne to bee rased down to the ground, his father and mother to be banished forth of the realme of France, and his other kinsfolkes enforced to change their names.

The Decree followed word for word the conclusions of the kings Atturney. All the differences was in three things which hee requested, but were not decreed. The first, that after the tearing with Pincers and the molten lead, the parracide should be let alone one houre before he were dismembred with horses. The second, that after the razing of the house where he was borne, salt should be sowne in that place, in signe of a perpetuall curse. The third, that for to abolish the name of so execrable a murderer, and to purge France from such an abominable race, his father, mother, bretheren, sisters, & other kinsfolke bearing that

that cursed surname, should for euer be banished out of the realme of France, and haue but fifteen dayes allotted them without further delay, to dispose of their goods

The Court considering how that all offences, of what nature soeuer, did not extend farther then the persons who committed them, held back the punishment of his father and mothers banishment, and altered it by causing his other kinsfolkes to change their names.

Murder in time past hath bin so odious & detestable, as the punishment extended to the ninth generation. I did demand one day of an Attorney of Suizerland, *why treason was so sildome seene among them? Because* (quoth he) *that we vse to punish traitors rigorously, & we do wholly root out their generation.* It is better that a few houses bee desolate the a whole country. They would haue innocent children to bear their fathers fault, because that fatherly affectiō was of more force to hold back an attempt, & to breake the execution thereof, then the feare

of

of punishment. *Guntran* includeth in the punishment of murtherers, all his kinsfolkes that were conuicted of the crime. *Seruin* on a time told this to the late King, who accounted this extreame iustice, extreame wrong. His mercy which did euer striue with his iustice, saw no proportion of reason, why the innocent should suffer for the guilty, and said, *That the soule of such a King went a boot-haling in an other world.*

The abolishment of this accursed name was most iustly decreed. It hath not appeared in all this discourse to haue had the honor to enter into the History; the murtherer ought to bee satisfied with that which his cruell and barbarous ambition made him hope for, thinking by setting fire, not to one Temple, but to the foure corners, and in the midst of the kingdom, to consecrate it to eternity.

The name of *Manlius* was famous in Rome, one sleight suspition of state, against the State did wholly deface it. The
names

names of these detestable wretches neuer ought to dishonor an Historie ; they must bee smothered in obliuion , and if at any time we chanceto name them , it must be with curses and execrations. The name of this parricide must be giuen to the diuell, wee must giue to this parricide the name of Diuell.

The sentence was executed the same day it was pronounced, and for to see the execution, all the Princes, Lords, officers of the Crowne, and Councillors of state, came to the Towne-house, and the whole city of Paris almost, to the Greue. The Execution was not thought fit to be done all in one place, for if his hand had beene cut off there where hee slew the King, the place was so narrow as the punishment would haue beene seene but of a few, and paine would haue diminished his strength which was necessary to endure other punishments.

Before the prisoner was brought to the
A a Greue,

Greue, they gaue him the buskins, which drew from his mouth the former words, but farre greater cryes then the first torture. It appeared by him, that although he had the charme of silence, so much boasted of by forcerers, yet hee had none against paine. At the first wedging he cried out, *O my God take pittie on my soule, and forgive mee this offence, but not if I haue concealed ought.* The second wedging ended the torment, for a sownding sealed on his hart and within a while after the hang-man on his body,

Diuers saw him in the Chappell, where hee was assisted by two Doctors of Sorbonne, *Filsac* and *Gamache*, to settle his conscience and to make it fit and capable of Gods mercy, and perceiuing certaine Princellesses and other Ladies to come in, he said that he would speake with the Register. It was an excuse to rid them thence that were there, and to be freed from their sight, because they should adde no more shame to his sorrow, for hee told him no

more

more then hee had done at former times.

The Doctors could get no more of him: but I wonder how hee had the discretion to tell them that his desire was to haue his confession reuealed and published, to the end the whole world might know that hee had not done that deed by the instigation of any man. The Doctors made this relation, and the Regeſter cauſed it to bee enroled. He thought that the people would haue thanked him for the deed: and when the Archers that guarded him to execution were commanded to take heed that no hurt were done him in the ſtreets, this proud ſlaue answered, *no body meanes to hurt mee*, but he was amazed when at the gate of the Concergerie, in the Court of the Pallace, and in all ſtreets, hee heard horrible cries made againſt him. He perceiued the people not onely deſirous of the puniſhment of his body, but of the deſtruction of his ſoule, all men wiſhing him in hell, curſing his birth and life. The Antients in times paſt vſed wordes of ſtraunge force

against those who were exposed, and as it were vowed to execution, and to the publick hate, *Goe wretched soule, goe damned soule, soule the most desperate upon earth, let the earth denie thee succour, refuse thee her nourishment, and Heauen her light.*

He made an honorable amends before our Ladies Church, falling prostrate on the earth, he kissed the end of the Torch, and seemed to haue his heart broken in peeces with repentance. In prison he had vttered diuerse blasphemous speeches, against the piety, iustice, mercy, and other good intents of the King. The Queene commanded *Testu*, Knight of the watch, to looke to him that hee did not so in the streets; but already, before he came forth of the Concergerie, he had testified an extreame greefe, for hauing held so bad and impious opinions of this great King.

Being pressed with remorse of his owne conscience, hee did detest his crime, for when doctor *Elsac* would haue giuen him

abso-

absolution, & willed him to lift vp his eyes to heauen, he answered, *I will not do so, for I am unworthy to looke thereon*, and he was contented that this absolution should be conuerted to his eternall damnation, if he had concealed ought of the truth.

The people would not giue him the comfort which they neuer denied to any in that case. None but the Doctor sung the suffrages viually at the execution of offenders. All pittie lay in the Hangman who promised diuers times quickly to dispatch him, so as he would reueale the truth. The most tender and compassionate hearts, had none for him, and diuers were sorry that he was absolved.

I obserued how those that were most gentle and pittifull, tooke no pittie on this man, and were so lost in their sorrow, as notwithstanding they knew that *Iesus Christ* dyed for him, yet they thought they should not transgresse against charity, to bid the diuell take him. Heereupon

I call to mind how the fathers of the council of Toledo making a decree to bind Christians to desire the safety of King *Cinthillus* the Goth; and to attempt nothing against him, added there-vnto these words. *Anathematized and cursed be he who shall despise our decree, or enterprize to offend the King, in any sort, or vpon any occasion what-soeuer: In all Christian congregations let him be abhorred and condemned by a soueraine iudgement, execrable to all Catholikes, abominable to the holy angels, and to all those whom God hath ordained for his ministers, let him be destroyed in this world and damned in the next, & without remedy let him be held for dāned, at the day of euerlasting damnation.*

Perseuering in this confession he receaued absolution, on condition to bee damned if he had not told the truth. He was laid along on the scaffold, horses are tyed to his hands and feet, his right hand being stricken through with a knife, was burned in a fier of brimstone. I noted
that

that it was not the same knife, wherewith he slew the king, for after the hangman had shewed it to the people, who by a generall crie did testifie how they abhorred that infernall instrument, he threw it to one of his men, who put it into a bagge.

This wretch to behold how his cursed hand did broile, had the courage to lift vp his head, and to shake off a sparke of fier which was in his beard. This vnprofitable care to saue it being noted, afforded matter to diuers to praise the custome obserued in Germany, Suisserland, & diuers other places, to shaue off and then to burn all the haire from all parts of the bodies of those who are conuicted for any notorious crimes, but the court of Parliament holds this for superstitious.

When they had pinched him with the pincers he cast forth greeuous cryes: Then they poured molten lead, scalding oyle, burning pitch, wax, and brimstone on those places burnt by the pincers

This

This paine was the most sensible and percing of all his punishment, and he shewed it by the lifting vp of his whole body, the beating with his leggs, the panting of his flesh. All this was not sufficient to mooue the people to pittie; when all was done, they wished it might beginne againe.

I saw a young man in the Hall of the Towne-house in danger to haue beene badly dealt with, for a word, which by indiscretion and not of malice, escaped from him, when he saw them poure the oyle on the places burnt with the pincers, he was amazed and in steed of saying *what torment*, he said *what cruelty is this*, this word was forthwith taken, and if the fellow had not slipt a-way in the throng, hearing them beginne to murmure and threaten him, hee had beene taught how to call that cruelty which was pure and perfect Iustice.

If in this torment they vsed any pause, it was to giue the hangman time to breath
and

and to the prisoner to feele himself to die, to the diuines to exhort him to tell the truth. He said *that he knew none other then what hee had so often before uttered, and that he should be very foolish, perceauing his body in that lamentable case to abandon his soule to a worffe.*

The horses begunne to draw, but not fast enough to the peoples minds, where-vpon diuers to helpe them beganne to pluck the ropes. No man thought it shame to execute the hangmans office on him who had slaine their father. A horse-courser perceiuing one of the horses out of breath alighted from his owne, tooke off the bridle and saddle, and did put it in the place of the tired one. This horse held out better then any of the other, and gaue such strong pulls to his right thigh as it forthwith losed all the ioynts.

If the people might haue beene let alone the Hangman should not haue medled with him, diuers offered themselves, to

B b.

make

make his punishment last longer, and himselfe to liue many dayes dying, An Hart pierced through with greefe for wrong offred to one it loueth, cannot be satisfied, but by some great testimony of sorrow and reuenge. A Iew dwelling in the Citty of Aix in Prouence, was condemned to be flead aliue before his owne house for vttering blasphemous speeches against the *Virgin Mary*: Certaine gentlemen would needs bee executioners of so iust a punishmēt, & with vizards on their faces, they came vpon the scaffold, made the hangman to come downe, and flead the Iew, to saue whom the Sinagog offred to *Renatus* King of Sicillé 11000. Florins.

The ropes, whereto the body was tyed betwixt two posts set vp in the midst of the scaffold, being loosed, it was a long time haled and pulled foreward and on euery side: His sides being dasht against those posts, some ribb was still crackt in pieces, so as it was thought that without this and the greeuous infusion of lead,

life

life, which was strong and vigorous in him, (and so strong as plucking back at one time one of his leggs he stayed the horse which drew it) would haue lasted and continued longer,

The Executioner pecciuing that all his members were broken & crushed in peices, that the horses were tyred, & that he was in the agony of death, would haue cut him in foure quarters, but at the first stroke, the impatient people snatched him forth of his handes, the lackeis gaue him a hundred blowes with swords, euery one gat a peece, and dragd it through the Citty. A woman was seene with strange reuenge to set hir nailes and teeth in that murtherers flesh. The hangman was amazed when hee saw nothing of him left but the shirt to finnish the execution, meaning to haue burnt the body to ashes. The people drag'd these wretched relicks vp and down the citty, in the same manner as the *Menades* did teare the body of *Orpheus*.

Bb 2.

At

At the last, it beeing deuised almost in as many peeces as there bee streets in Paris, diuers fires were made in sundry places, and chiefly there where the King was slaine: The Suiſſes burnt one peece of it before the Loure. Little children were scene in the streets to carry straw & wood to the fire. There were some who hauing drawne certaine peeces of that body vp and downe the city, gathered them together on the Greue, and by burning them, made an end of the execution.

It seemed that this so iust and exemplary punishment would in some sort haue comforted the publicke griefe; but the satisfaction was not equall to the offence, nor the comfort to the sorrow. The wounds of hearts were opened againe when men remembred that the causes of this death were wrapped vp in impenetrable darknesse, and when many cryed out, *That this murtherer at his death had retained some after-thought.*

The

The opinion neuertheless of those who thought that this detestable deed had none other motion, but from his owne mad and phrantick spirit, is maintained by great likelyhoods. No stirres haue bin within or without the realme. Nothing ensued this mishap. All Princes are grieved for it, and haue made offer of their forces to reuenge it. Wee must not thinke but that the prosperity of this Crowne hath had great enemies, and that disloyall minds haue offered themselves to disturbe the quiet thereof. But if the law of God did not tye Princes to detest such conspiracies, that of honor would suffer them to thinke thereon. The History of Lewis the eleuenth declareth, what praise all Europe gaue him for aduertizing his enemy the Duke of Burgondy of an attempt against his person.

A Prince who seekes to make away his enemy, otherwise then by iustice, and by the euent of warre, shewes a minde full of

feare, voyde of courage, and seemes to feare that which it should contemne. It was a generous deed of *Fabricius*, who deliuered into *Pyrrhus* hands the fellow who offered to poyson him : so noble a deed as *Tiberius* perceiuing a certaine Prince of the Celtes to make offer to kill *Ariminius* by poison, answered : *that Rome did not use to be reuenged of hir enemies secretly and by deceit, but openly and by Armes.*

By how much this act did adde glory and honor to the reputation of the Romans, by so much more was that of *Titus Flaminius* odious, who put *Haniball* to death, who was retired to the Court of *Prusias* King of Bithinia. When *Titus Liuius* notes that, hee considereth the great alteration of the mindes and courages of the Romans. The fathers of these men aduertised *Pyrrhus*, who entred Italy in armes, to looke to himselfe, that some would poyson him, *These men* (saith he)

send

send an Ambassador to Prusias, to perswade him to violate the lawes of Hospitallity with Haniball. Plutarcke to take away this blemish of the Romans reputation, layeth the blame on *Flaminius*, and saith, that the Senate did repute that fact ouer cruell, and proceeding from couetousnesse of glory, to the end that in Histories hee might bee named the cause and Author of *Hannibals* death, whome Rome left aliue, like a Bird, whose plumes and feathers were all false off with age.

How often hath offer beene made to our King of certaine and infallible meanes to dispatch his enemies? How often hath hee reiected them, as vnworthy the Religion and magnanimity of a Christian Prince? abhorring to employ against them any other thing then the right of Armes. His valour carryed him into dangers without feare, gaue

gaue him victories without cruelty, Triumphes without intolency, and changed his lance into Lawrel, like that of *Amphiaras*. This braue *Alexander* did neuer know how to steale victories, nor to vanquish by trechery. He would like *Marcellus* haue the Sunne alwaies to be witnesse without reproch of all his triumphes.

It is some comfort to vs that this prince was so well beloued, so much feared of all Christian princes, as none had a hand in this damnable deed. But that doth not aswage our greefe, for the more we consider how farre the greatnesse and felicity of this Prince extended, the more is the remembrance thereof sorrowfull, the more sensible the losse. But if our soules, in admiring the immortall reputation which he hath left behind him, are not comforted, the light thereof is but smoak, the glory an illusion, and vertue but a *Chimera*.

Neuer Prince died more sodainly.

Here

Heere is greefe. neuer did any Prince liue in greater glory, *Heere is comfort*. He entertains death in the great designes of his courage, in the amazement and admiration of the world; who euer made a more glorious end? Of what death could he haue dyed, to haue beene more bewailed, or to haue lesse fence of death?

This sunne of Christendome setting in the west, doth augment the force of his beames. He dyeth like a torch, which giueth greatest light when it is almost extinct, redoubling his flame and darting forth his last sparks in the body of his light. The fame wherein he procureth sighs is so high, so full, and perfect, as if his death were not so well knowne and bewailed as it is, Posterity being amazed at the herodical actions of his life, should haue more reason to thinke him immortal, then the Oracle had to doubt whether *Lycurgus* were a man.

Greece being so much obliged to the

labours of *Hercules*, thought it folly not to praise him: whosoever shall know what this prince hath done to establish peace in Europe, will thinke it want of discretion not to admire the strokes of his sword, and the excellency of his iudgment. The Greekes neuer made Triumph wherein the statue of *Hercules* was not carried about. Neuer shall any great enterprize be attempted but by the example of his great actions; posterity wil hardly belecue that our age hath brought forth a Prince who before him had none that could be equalled with him in the greatnesse of his courage, and will leaue none after him but will hardly imitate that which he hath fortunately executed both in warre and peace.

For so much glory purchased with so much toyle, for so many Trophées erected with so much glory, for so many prosperities which did crowne all his designs, his mind was no higher eleuated,

nor

nor his presence more estranged from his subjects.

He did not thinke that his body yeelded a greater shadow after, then before his victories, and he did not cause the heads of the Colloses of the Gods to be taken off, to sett on his owne. His maiesty was kind and gentle to all men, and was terrible only to proud and rash persons, speaking often a latin verse, *That he knew how to pardon the humble and to tame the proud.* He had ioyned two things together which commonly are seperable, *Greatnes* and *Moderation*, and like *Theopompus*, King of Sparta, giuing way to whatsoeuer was to stiffe and boisterous in power absolute, he made his commandements easie, and the obedience to them without labour and murmuring.

In a word, we cannot speake ill of a Prince who hath euer done so well, Truth shall for euer be victorious, it is immoueable, and as gold and glasse cannot

bee turned into any other substance, because the one is the sunnes last workmanship, and the other that of the fire: Truth which is as faire as gold, and as cleere as glasse, may well bee molten in the fire of slander, may well be broken in peeces by lyes, but the essence thereof can neuer be changed. In despight of Hel, the forge of slander, and of all those hell-hounds who some and fret against the memory of this great King, hee shall haue the glory of a Prince, religious, merciful, valorous, magnanimous, gentle and wise. What his enemies shall speake of him in secret, will not much differ from that which his faithfull seruants say of him publickly.

But if he vnderstand what wee speake of him, and if hee doe yet entertaine that curiosity which in times past hee had of the truth of his History, I am certaine, that he will not take it well, if we disroabe him of humane weaknesse: hee did not loue flattery, which taketh away moates,
and

and leaueth spots on the garment, delighting to be praised of those, who beleueed those praises which they gaue him, but if hee obserued any clawing, hee would no more taste it. Princes pay flattery with her owne money, Flatterers dissemble the vices of Princes, and Princes dissemble the lyes of flatterers.

True it is, that two scarres remaine on the face of his reputation. Hee brought the one into the world with him, the other came with him to the Crowne. For the first. This violent fault of his eyes did manifest, that his heart was not invulnerable against the shafts of loue, as it was inuincible against those of Fortune. Hee would not abstaine from louing that which was faire, & of the most imperious passions of his soule, this did vsurpe the soueraignty; but, it did neuer make him to neglect the offices & duties of a great King. Pleasure, which in many subiects ouerthroweth wisdom, debaucheth reason, smothereth

valour, did no wrong to his affaires, to his wisdom, nor to his courage.

For the second. Hee was not displeased to be thought hard to grant excessive gifts, neere and very considerate in recompences, neuer desirous to prevent demands, nor to surprise hopes, albeit that hee had a desire to giue, that he well knew that there was no money better deserued, then in the following of his Court and Armies, that to giue speedily is to giue twice, that long hopes consume patience, and that it is a kinde of contentment for a man to come to his iourneys end before he be weary.

Recompences were demanded by so many men, as not beeing able to giue to all those who thought they deserued them, those who still remained discontented, and gaue him the name of couetous, were very many: albeit, neuer King of France, did scatter his bounty into more hands.

To conclude, his vertues were generall,
and

and his defects perticular, which were not discerned, but as inuisible and needlesse Attomes in the large extent of his fame. Europe neuer bred a greater Prince, and the Idææes of a better King remaine in heauen, the originall and eternall abode of that royall soule, where it enioyeth most perfect happinesse, and knows what the vantage is of neuer ceasing to liue, though it heere ceased to Reigne.

FINIS.

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 live, though it be corrected
 to Reign.

FINIS.

A Panegyre:
 Containing the Life and
Heroyck deeds of the most
 Christian King *Henry*
the fourth.



Lthough the world holds an opinion, that there is nothing so excellent and rare, but the like may be seene againe; that nature is neuer weary, and that the Phœnix riseth againe out of hir owne ashes; yet will it be hard to make vs hope, that Europe can produce another *Henry*, whose actions are admired by all the Kings of the earth, and being compared to those of fore-passed ages are like vnto those high mountaines which disdain the proudest rocks that are vnder them.

In whom could there concurre so many

Dd

merits

merits? for whom will vertue be so happy, and fortune so constant? for whom will heauen doe so great wonders? who will vndertake to exceed him? who dares equall him? who can follow him? of whom may we say that which is said of him. *A wiser Prince there is not any found, a more Couragious the world beares not, and a better there cannot be.*

His life is so full a Table, as there is not any thing but stayes the eye, stirres vp the Iudgment, and drawes it to Admiration. They shall not speake in any part of the world of this Prince, but the fame of his great and incomparable actions, will make a great Impression in the brauest courages.

Theseus could not but talke of *Hercules* labours: *Themistocles* could not sleepe when he thought of the combats of *Miltiades*: great Princes will feele their heartes inflamed with glory and honour, when they shall represent

present vnto themielves the victories and
Trophées of great *Henry*.

The very day that heauen made him be
born at Pau, it gaue him the crown of Na-
uarre, it promised him that of France;
and did assure him that the glory of his
life and of his raigne should not be limited
with other bounds then the continuance
of the world. His breeding was as much
inferior in delights and dainties, as it
should be superior in force of mind and
greatnes of courage to other Princes of
his time.

His court was in the village, his nurce a
contry-woman, his Courtiers peasants,
his language Bearnois, his excercises in
the field, his walkes among the rocks, his
delights in Innocent things, his appetites
for necessary things, his distast in super-
fluous; taking part with the children of
the village, of the iniuries of the ayre, and
the indisposition of the seasons, whilst the
Dd 2. equality

equality of the age, and the liberty of that life he'd the difference of qualities and conditions suspended.

His inclination to Armes had not diminished the pleasure he had taken in learning, if they had not beene forced to gird him with a sword as well for defence as ornament. The Ignorance of that which he should haue learned, and the forgetting of that which he had learned, did frame in his mind a continuall grieve; complayning of the little care they had had of his Institution: for hee desired in greatest occasions to marry his penne vnto his sword as *Cesar* had done.

As his breeding had inured his body to trauell, and had presented paine vnto him with pleasure, and pleasure with paine, fortune had made his mind inuincible to Accidents, and gaue him so great in quantity, and so diuers in quallity, as in the end she was forced to confesse that his courage did surpasse the violence of her attempts

tempts and his wisdom the stratagems of his designs.

Diuerſity of Religion troubling the moſt happy and profound Peace that euer France enjoyed, he was brought to Bois de Veſane, or Vincennes, there to be bred up with the Infants of France, or rather to be a precious gage of *The ancient fidelitie of the houſe of Bourbon*. The Queen his mother drew him from the court, to inſtruct him in the religion whereof ſhe would haue him Protector, as they which made profeſſion thereof did acknowledge him for their Generall after the death of the Prince of Conde, and the loſſe of the Battell of Iarnack. His preſence did reuiue their danted ſpirits, and ſtayed the ſtrangers who would no more ſerue a cauſe miſerably deieſted, condemned by the Kings Edicts, and purſued with publike hatred. Religion found at Rochabeille that ſhe might hope for more by the preſence of this Prince then by the force of

her Armes. The Armie depended vpon his authoritie, and hee depended of his Mothers, who beeing courteously seuerer, did not allow his youth any thing, but what shee might not well refuse.

After the Battell of Mont-conter, hee went aboute three hundred leagues in a short time, and hauing recouered new forces, hee let them see at Rene-le-duk, that hee would neuer lay downe Armes, vntill hee had purchased for his party, eyther an assured Peace, or an absolute victorie. Hee first obtained a truce for two moneths, and then a peace, more beneficiall then the precedent, which should haue been the end, but it was but a change of the miseries of France.

Vnder his Influences appeared that fatal and furious Canicular, which made a burning sword runne through the streets of Paris, and throughout all the good Townes of France. His liberty was restrained, his conscience forced, his seruants

The Massacre on saint Bartholmews day.

uants banished. Some were ouerwhelmed with the blowe, and others were amazed at the clap, and all apprehended the danger.

The Castle of Bois de Veisaine which had beene his first Academie, became his prison, and the Court the exercise of his patience: King *Henry* the third gaue him his liberty, but thinking alwayes that his aboad in Court was an honorable Captiuitie, he freed him-selfe, vnder a coullor of going a hunting, and was presently followed by them, who did expect on earth none other succours from heauen, then by the care which this Prince seemed to haue of their conduct and protection.

Hee did with grieve re-enter into the seruitude which they doe feele which command in Ciuill warres, detesting in his soule all reuolts against the Prince, and lamenting the condition of such as in these diuisions were some-times forced to see,

see, doe and endure things contrary to the euidence of reason, and the iust feeling of their consciences. This warre taught him great lessons of patience, constancie, frugalitie and moderation. His vertue did not exempt him from the out-rages of necessitie. He wanted money, his munitions failed him, his forces disbanded, his friends grew wearie, his owne hope was tired, and that which will hardly bee credited in an other age, hee had some difficulty (hauing foure score thousand pounds starling of yearely reuenewes) to repell hunger, which doth neuer force Kings. Among the discourses which hee hath made to yong men, to teach them how to suffer, hee hath beene heard to say, *That hauing on a time made a great marche, hee was forced to eat a peece of a Goose halfe broyled vpon the coales without any bread, the which was so old and tough, as it seemed to bee of that race which had watcht to saue the Capitoll.* He felt a great delight to haue reduced delight
to

to that point , as no crosse of fortune might alter her.

But amidst all these wants, hee neuer wanted courage, with the which hee promised himselfe to haue whatsoeuer hee wanted. A man may wish all things to his enemy but courage, for there-with hee shall depriue him- selfe of the fruits of his wishes, and force (which is incountred by valour) is alwayes in danger. The necessity of his owne defence did iustifie his Armes, the which hee laide aside as soone as the fift Edict of peace had settled concord and obedience in the hearts and wils of the French.

Hee did nourish this new plant carefully , and, by the conferences of Flaix, and Nerac, did pacifie the windes which did blow against her first buddes. They sought to ingage him in new confusions, but as *Ulysses*, who for that hee would not bee enchanted by the Syrens songs , caused himselfe to bee tyed to the Mast of his
-orbis E e ship,

ship, he kept himselfe close to the body of Saint *Lewis* tree, against forraine Inchantments, which did sollicite him to stirre vp new troubles. He discovered a farre off the practises that were made to renew the miseries, & resolved with greater constancie to serue France, holding as a maxime, *that there was no health in the Estate, but with the Estate*, & in the sincerity of such thoughts, the death of the Duke of Alençon, the Kings onely brother, set him in the nearest degree vnto the Crowne.

France was then diuided into three factions, the two agreed easily against his; yet did hee offer vnto the King the seruice of his person and Armes, to make him recouer that which a carelesse bountie in the beginning of these disorders (when as he preferred milde and fearefull remedies to them that were hardy and seuerer) had wrested from him. When as this storme fell vpon him, hee had no other thoughts but to maintain France in Peace, to restore
autho-

authoritie to the King, and liberty to him and his.

The realme was plunged into present miseries, vnder the vaine feare of that which was to come and vncertaine, the King suffering that during his life they should dispute of the succession of his Crowne. They did no more looke of him, but as the Sunne-set of his realme, all mens eyes were turned vppon two Princes, both great in courage and reputation. The one had a Crowne already, and the law of the Kingdome called him to the second: the other had great parties to get it, and to keepe it being gotten.

The heart of the one was inclined to loue the other, they were seene in one Chamber in the Loure, they went a hunting, made matches at tennis, played at dice, visited the Ladyes together. The King of Nauarre carryed the Duke of Guise behinde him on horse-backe through the streetes of Paris: Hee loued

E c 2

him

him as his kinsman, hauing not any one neerer next to them of his name. These great shewes of friendship did not please the King, but as great hatred proceeds from great loue, and good Vineger is made of the best wine, this loue degenerating into hatred, was the cause of great ruines, as we shall presently see.

If that age had carried desseignes worthy of the swords of these two, who were the greatest personages that France euer bare, and two of the greatest Captaines in the world, she might haue recovered those goodly and rich peeces of her Crowne, whereof she had beene dispossessed. If their controuersie had beene but for *Achilles* armes, and that they had beene cast in the middest of Palestina, to be his that should win them by the point of his sword, *Aiax* did neuer contend for them so resolutely against *Ulysses*, as they would haue done together, but their thoughts reacht not so far, the one contented himselfe with that
which

which was iustly due vnto his birth, and the other to purchase that which hee thought should belong vnto his valour.

The King fearing the hope of the one the deseignes of the other, and the courage of them both, suffered the one to force him to make war against the other. So as in a moment we saw the Edicts reuoked, and the cheefe forces of the realme imploied against the King of Nauarre. He was assayed, during the space of foure yeares, by two royall Armies, one sent to refresh an other, and led by great Captaines. The God of armies gaue him the victory at the Battell of Coutras, to make it knowne that he would end in him the wonders of his workes, and lead him by the hand to the place whether his enemies thought he should neuer come, especially after that he had beene beaten with the fulminations of the Vatican, and in a manner out of hope to passe the riuer of Loire after the rout of that great Army

which Germany had sent to his succour.

It seemed that the warre was dead: but it did but sleepe, we saw that furious tumult of the Barricados burst forth, the which chased the King out of Paris; and did wound his heart with an incurable vicer. He dissembled this iniury, he pacified those that had put him in choller, he vsed all pollicie and arts to couer the fier of his reuenge vnder the ashes of forgetfulness; he called an Assembly at Rouan, whereas the Cardinall of Bourbon was held for the first Prince of the bloud, and the lawfull heire of the Crowne declared vnworthy to succeed.

The more they labour to quench this royal plant, the more it sprouts, the Counsellors for his ruine prooue his aduancement. The conspiracy of *Iosephs* bretheren was the bridge wherby he past to the chiefe honours of Egypt. Heauen which neuer spares his prodigies with and
against

against great men, tooke away at that time with a flash of lightening the barre in the Armes of the house of Bourbon, in the Chappel of *Archambaud* of Bourbon, brake it in peices, and did not hurt the flowers de Luce, nor the rest of the scutchin.

The two Pillars which supported the building were beaten downe, and their fall did shake all France. The King, who thought that he had quencht the fire of warre in the bloud of these two Princes, saw it kindled more violently in euery corner of the realme, many came running to haue some peices of this generall combustion. *Henry* of Bourbon presented himselfe to quench it, he past the riuer of Loire; And when his seruants at this passage aduised him to thinke of his owne safety, and to consider with whom he had to doe. He sayd, *The chance is cast, the succor of France, and the seruice of my King are deerer vnto me, then mine owne life.*

He

He deliuered the King from the danger wherein he was at Tours, and desiring no other quallity then the first of his seruants, he brought vnto his obedience Gargeau, Gien, la Charite, Pluuiers, Estampes, Dourdan, and fortified his camp in such sort before Paris, as he left it to his choyse to enter by a Port or a breach, by loue or by force, within three dayes he had beene seene in his Louure and in his seat of Iustice, without that fearfull blow, the which wounding him in the belly, did strike France to the heart, and reduced it to that estate, as if it had not beene speedily supported by that great Prince, it had fallen in peeces. He receiued her and cherished her, as if he had beene born for France, and not France for him.

He might haue come to the Crowne by succession, which was the easiest way, but God, to try his courage and to exercise the force of his mind, presented the most painfull and difficult vnto him, that
of

of Conquest, through such continuall
toyles, such apparent dangers, and such
extreame afflictions, as a soule of another
birth then his would not haue vndertaken
so painfull a taske for a Diadem. I should
make a Historie instead of a Panegyre, if
I would represent them all, they require a
more free and large discourse.

Great actions may bee represented in a
small table, we may see a *Cæsar* at the pas-
sage of *Rubicon*, and how hee defeated
Petreius, *Afranius* and *Varro* in Spaine;
Pompey at *Pharsalia*, *Ptolomie* in *Egypt*, and
Pharnax in *Asia*, but so many words, so
many discourses, euery action merits a
volume. Euen so wee may speake of the
actions of this King after the maner of the
Geographers, who note great riuers with
small lines, and strong and mighty citties,
with points.

Hee begins the first actions of his raigne
by the last duties of Pietie, which hee cau-
seth to bee done vnto the Kings body, the

which was laid in *Saint Corneils Church* at *Compeigne*, a place of safety and famous by the Interment of two Emperors Kings of France. There was a horrible and monstrous confusion scene, which sought to disorder and ouerwhelme all things. To a true and lawfull Royalty, they did oppose one faigned and Immaginary, vnder the name of a Prince that was prisoner, who neither had the age, nor was of a profession necessary to vndertake the reuenge of the Kings death, and the preservation of the Realme.

Although the seruants of the true King be diuided in religion, yet are they not in the fidelity which they owe him, nor in the affection of his seruice, neither yet in desire to reuenge the execrable Parricide, of their King. Their honour and that of France is the only Trophee which they promise vnto themselves of this warre.

Other nations do it not but for spoile
and

and booty, but the French propound not any thing vnto themselves but the honor of the Kings seruice. *Xerxes* with his Army of a hundred thousand fighting men would be loth to charge them, as he repented to haue taken armes against the Grecians, when as he vnderstood that all their ambition was to deserue, not crowns of gold but garlands of Oliue, and Persly at the Olympike games.

The Pope, who vntill this time had not seene cleerly into these confusions, repented that hee had taken the shewes and pretexts for the causes and reasons of these confusions, he pierceth into the delieigns, and doth openly discountenance them, whom in the beginning he had fauoured, and that which before hee would haue done as a Partesan, hee now begins to doe as a Father.

The beginning of this raigne had great difficulties, amazement beeing more powerfull in the mindes of ma-

many then affection was zealous in their hearts.

Hee saw him-selfe constrained to endure of them, who could not endure of themselves, to shut his eyes at that which hee saw, and to turne away his eares from that which hee vnderstood, practising that *Gratious manner of pardoning*, seeming to be ignorant of the offences, & suffering wickednesse to drinke the poison which shee herselfe had compounded. What other spirit then his would haue been capable to temper the passions of mens mindes? What *Ulysses* could haue contained so many contrary wines in one bottell? And yet in the midst of all this, his heart is firme, and his soule quiet, the more rebellion ouerflowes, the more doth the sea of his clemencie swell.

Neuer Prince embarked in a better vessel, but neuer did the sea rage more furiously to swallow him vp. Hee had need of as many eyes as *Argus* to watch,

as

as many heads at *Typhæus* to dispose, and as many Armes as *Briareus* to labour. Attending some good occasion to imploy his whole Army, he disperst it into three Prouinces, Normandy, Champagne, and Picardy. He assures himselfe of Pont de Larche, to cut of the Commerce by water betwixt Paris and Rouen, he makes his entry into Diepe, commends the fidelity of Caen, forceth his enemies to retier from Paris, and to come and be beaten at Arques. Paris who thought to see him a prisoner, sees him triumphing in her suburbes, and knowes that this torrent had beene stayed in one corner of the realme, to ouerflow more violently.

He chaseth rebellion out of the Prouinces of Dunois, Vendosme, Maine, Perche, and the better part of Normandy; he comes to Tours to refresh himselfe, and to see his counsell, the soueraigne companies of his Iustice, and of his Finances. From thence he forceth Mans and Alen-

gon, and it seemed that his Canons and Regiments had wings, hauing marcht aboue a hundred and fifty leagues in lesse then two moneths. His counsels passe the wisdom of those that counsell him; his desseignes preuent the fore-sight of his enemies, his courage giues assurance to his seruants, and his happinesse in all his enterprises makes them say, *that if hee should bee on the maine Sea vpon a hurdle, hee should not perish*. None but *Iupiter* can cast forth lightning, none but *Hercules* can handle his club, & it fits best with *Henry* to weare a Crowne of Palme and Bayes. He besiegeth Dreux, and seeing that his enemy did aduance to succour it, hee makes shew to retire, giues him time to passe the riuer to follow him, and seeing him past, and ingaged in the plaine of Yury, he offers him battell, and wins it.

The battel of *Marathon*, where as 10000. Grecians defeated 100000. Persians on foote, & 10000. horse is not so renowned to the Athenians, as this victory of reason

and

and right against numbers and force, is vnto the French. All his grieve was to see the fields dyed with the bloud of his subjects, for hee could haue wisht that the stranger alone had payed the expences of his triumph. The fruits of this victory put into his hands, in lesse then two moneths, fifteene or sixteene good townes: onely Meulan presuming rashly to resist his forces, suffred the pains of her rashnesse. Sens was the onely thorne which stayed the course of his victory, but desiring to strike rebellion at the heart, and to bury it in the same place where it was first bred, he turned head towards Paris, cutting the veines which did nourish this huge body; he seized vpon the passages for victuals aboue & beneath, of the riuers of Seine, Maine, Yonne and of Oyse, by the taking of Mante, Poissy, Melun and Montreau, and hee takes from them also the commodities of the plaine by the taking of Saint Denis.

He reduced Paris to extreame misery, but desiring rather to faile in the feueritie of

warre,

warre, then in the mildnes of his clemency, he intreats that Citty like a father which called him Tyrant, daily, and vnderstanding the fearfull effects which necessity wrought, that they did eat raw doggs publikely, and that the mothers found their children missing, he desired to releue the despaire of this people, succoring the Princes and Princesses with victuals, suffering virgins, children, scholars and Church-men to come forth, and by this pittie augmented the obstinacy of the rest of the besieged. Shee is freed from famine to bee afflicted with new Calamities and desolations; she hath eaten so many doggs, as she retaines the rage and fury, with the which shee fals vppon the chiefe Officers of Iustice.

The King inuites the armie of strangers to the hazard of a Battell, & presents himself aboute the village of Chelles, but they will not hazard any thing, and bound their Conquests with the ruine of Lagny : and
the

the taking of Corbeil. It came into France like a Torrent, but hee forced it to returne being prest and scanted for victuals, and did let them see at Longeual, that courage prescribes a law to numbers, being content to let the vanquished know, how far the honor of a victory doth extend. In this Incounter there was a troupe did obstinately make head against him, ingaged him in the thickest of the danger, and slew five or fixe of his company neere vnto him. In the end it was in his will to haue cut them all in peeces, but as soone as hee saw them humbled, he left his Pistoll, and retained the iust aduantage which he had, saying, *That hee would not see them suffer harme, which were not in case to do any.*

Soone after he had other meanes offered him to enter into Paris, but hee would not hearken to it, for that the execution could not be without great disorder. One of his good seruants, who hath disdained life after the death of so good a maister, had

an intallible enterprife, hauing meanes to let in by Port Bucy, (whereof they had promifed him the Keyes) as many men as hee would, to fortifie the courages and resolutions of them that were within the Citty, and who desired rather to be taken by their King with the hazard of their goods, then to be garded by the Spaniards with the loffe of their liberties. This great Prince confidering that it was impoffible to preuent it, but in this furprife the Citty would feele the fury of the war, & that the good muft fuffer for the bad, hee faid, *that he had rather not take Paris, then to ruine it.*

Chartres is befieged, and hauing endured the fiegge two months, they were more defirous to trust vnto the mercy of the affailant, then to any hope of succors. The enemy feeing that this *Hercules* could not bee vanquifhed with any earthly forces, they defire to draw lightning from heauē to confume and ruine him. *Gregory* the 13. the oracle of *Philip*, of a common father, becomes

becomes the head of a party, casting forth his fulminations against this Prince, the Bulls were burnt at Tours & at Chalons.

The Parlements with the like courage (as they had in former times, resisted the insolencies of *Bonifaces*, *Pius* and *Iulius*) make it knowne, that the remedies of fire and bloud are not fit for the languishings of France: that this generous minde will not be forced, & that they must hope, that he wil one day bind the Church to cal him some-times her father, and some-times her sonne. Feare to displease the Pope, had not so much power ouer them, as the care of the Estate, & the preservation of the liberties of the Frésh church. The army which came to demand the execution of the Bulls was as soone disperst as imployed. At the sight of a hūdred horse of the Kings white Cornet, a 1000. Cassaks of watchet veluet, all imbrodred with gold & ciphers of keies ioyned vnto swords, dare not abandon the shadow of the walls of Verdun, and make it known that their troop consists of many

men and good horses, but of few soldiers, & that they had to deale with men whose Armes feared not the lead of Rome.

The prosperity of his affaires did nothing alter his minde from the desire hee had in the beginning of his raigne, for the good of a Peace; The ouertures and propositions whereof were secretly handled, for that they would not offend the Strangers, who were better pleased to see France languish then cured, and who laboured to make the subiect irreconciliable to their Prince. The time was so close as it would not suffer the hearts of good men to bee open; it was Impiety to propound a peace, and treason to seeke it.

Hee looseth no time in the meane time, he passeth into Normandy, to fortifie his seruants and subiects by his presence: In the sight of the sunne, & in lesse then two houres hee executes a memorable enterprise vpon Louuiers; he causeth his counsell to come from Tours to Mante, to

to resolute there vpon his cheife and most important affaires, he enters into Picardy, beseegeth Noyon, which at the third volley of the Canon yeelded in view of the Army, which durst not attempt to succor it, nor to hazard a Battell against a lesser number.

Having receiued some forces from the Queen of England he presented himselfe before Rouen, summons it, & doth presse it to yeeld him the duty which it owes. The hope of succors makes the Inhabitants obstinate in their resolutions. The King turned head towards this new Army, and resolved to fight with it, contrary to the aduice of his cheefe seruants, who seeing the disproportion of these forces, aduised him to passe Pont de l' Arche. His courage bound him rather to follow the path of danger with honour, then that of safety with shame, and made him say, with *Pompey*, but with more truth and better successe, *That in striking his foote*
against

against the earth he would raise vp Legions. All his seruants which were farre of returned to the armie, the Duke of Parma who thought to haue an easie victory, saw his enemies in front of him.

The two armies were in fight at Aumale, where as the King was hurt with a shot, which did not hinder him from pronouncing that royall and generous word *Charge Charge*, and to doe that which himselfe had commanded, charging valiantly with his hurt into the thickest of the enemies fury, and then he made a glorious retreat: diuers dayes after he was in all the occasions, where as glory was neuer seene but in a world of dangers.

Hee beats his enemies at Bellencombe, he stripes them at Bure, and makes them to quit Yuetot with dishonour and great losse.

In the view of two Squadrons of the enemies horse, he himselfe tooke a Centinell perdu at Henry-quart-ville.

This

This great Armie was as much prest with necessity, as the chiefe commanders were with sicknesse, the soundest of them both being carryed in a litter. The King ouertakes them at Caudebeck vpon the riuer of Seine, and forceth them to seperate themselves, the one gets to Rouen, the other by the fauour of two bridges, the one at Caudebeck, and the other at Charanton, recouers Chasteau Thierry, and seazeth vpon Espernay.

This voiage did confirme him in the opinion which he had at the first, as a Soueraigne Prince interessed in the Kings defence, and as a Prince of Italy enemie to the pride of Spaine, that the Kings quarrell being Iust and maintained by a good sword, he would preuaile, and that if the warre continued longer Spaine should haue more wood to heate her ouen, then corne to send to the mill. He sayd moreouer *That this Prince was an Eagle in warre which soared into the cloudes when*

when they thought to take him, and fell suddenly upon them which held him to be farther off.

Quilbeuf ruined that which remained, it defended a siege three weekes, and forced the assaillant to dislodge without drumme or Trompet. Espernay was recovered; eight horses put 300. to rout. Nothing stayes the force of the Kings armes but humility and piety: The vanquished have no hope but in the conquerors mercy. He dismiss the Prince of Anhalt with the Reisters which he brought him.

He had promised at his comming to the crowne, that he would not shew himselfe difficult to be instructed in the Religion of his predecessors. He had vanquished his enemies, it was necessary he should vanquish himselfe. That rich diamond of religion, whose fire is so pure and water so cleere, did not shine with that luster vpon his Crowne, as his Predecessors had carryed it, for that he did not serue God after their manner. It was desired that Piety, which

which hath giuen vnto the Kings the glorious title of most Christian, should giue vnto him that of the eldest sonne of the Church. Hee therefore suffers himselfe to be Instructed, and beeing instructed doth acknowledge the truth, the Church doth triumph thereat, and heauen doth furnish bayes. His valour hath triumphed ouer his enemies, and his Piety did triumph ouer his conscience. Many haue had their shares in his victory against his enemies, but in that of himselfe the conquest is his owne. This miraculous worke of heauen ouer-threw new desseignes.

Hee makes profession of his religion at the entry of the Church of the first Apostle of France, the sacred monuments of his Predecessors are the witnesses of the sincerity of his heart. Hee caused himselfe to be anoynted and crowned in the first & most ancient Temple of Christendom, which they say was dedicated by the Druides, *To the Virgin that should bring forth.*

H h

His

His heart like a Lampe prepared to burne; was no sooner kindled by this diuine fire, whereof Constancie and Truth are the Vestalls, but darknesse vanished, and the pretexts fell like walls vndermined. The League, the Typhon of sedition, from whence sprong so many Serpents and Vipers of disloyalty was smothered vnder the Etna of her owne presumption and pride. Those great Colossies of forraigne desseignes were beaten downe, the foundation of the pretext of Religion supporting them no more. The warre can no more carry the title of a warre for religion. Paris at the first speech of this Masse, or to speake more properly, at the very ringing of the Bell, receiues him for Catholike, they runne to Saint Denis to adde the teares of their miseries to those of ioy, for a Grace which was more desired then hoped for.

Hell storming at the sauing of a soule so necessary for the glory of Heauen,
stirres

stirres vp a wretch who vndertakes to kill him. The Tyger stayed at the shining of a glasse: This Monster seeing the zeale of Piety to shine in the eyes of this Prince, confest that hee had horror to offend the Soueraigne dignitie ordayned of GOD, among Angels and men. Rome which had cast forth her fulminations against him from the toppe of Vatican, makes benefiers for ioi of his returne vnto the Church, and erects a Triumph to his Pietie.

The Iland of Zeilan holds not any lawfull King, but hee that the day of his Coronation carries the hereditarie ornament of the Crowne, a Rubie as big as a hand, and three fingers thick, for the which the great Cham of Cathay, would haue giuen a great and mighty Citty. In like manner Rome could not hold him for most Christian King, which did not carry this precious Ring of the Religion of Saint *Lewis*.

Pagan Rome hath deserued great Elo-
gies of all the nations of the earth, they
called her *the Citty of the world, a heape of
triumphes and trophees, and the mother of all
Citties*. The Marbles and Medailes haue
named her, *the eternall Citty*. They of
Smyrna in the time of Cato: they of Per-
gamo vnder Augustus: and they of A-
thens vnder Adrian, haue giuen her the
name of *Diuine, Holy, August and Sacred*.
Christian Roine is called by those great
lights of the East and West, *the Chaire of
the Apostles; the inexpugnable fort of truth:
the Metropolitaine of all the world; the Arche-
type of Religion; the miracle of Piety, the
Sanctuary of Innocency; the rule of Consci-
ences, and the Mountaine of Syon*. All tytles
equally famous, but the glory could not
bee greater then by that of a godly Mo-
ther to a great Prince, who acknowledg-
ing her, was receiued by her as the eldest
sonne of the Church. Shee sets these
trophees on the toppe of his conquests,
think-

thinking that of a soule so pretious to Christendome, very profitable to the Church, and that her ground-worke could not bee beautified with a goodlyer plant.

France, which during her sleepy and insensible stupidity, had suffered her members to be cut off by peeces, began to open her eyes which she had kept shut, for that she would not know her owne miseries, nor feele her Infirmities, she neglected all remedies, and now that she feeles her owne wounds, she desires to be cured: This feeling was the infalible Crisis of her health: hope reuiued good men, and confusion amazed the wicked. The Crow which could not say from the top of the Capitoll *It goes well*; may now say *All will goe well*. This body had yet some sound, vigorous and perfect partes, and it had good blood to restore it. Gold set in worke being cast into the fier, looseth his fashion, but not his waight. The
ancient

ancient loyalty of the French, lost her forme in this fire of rebellion, but the substance remained perfect and without blemish, to bee repaired and beautified by the industry of this Prince.

The King promisseth to make her happy, if she desires to be so; he makes her to taste the sweetnesse of a truce, to make her couet the felicity of Peace. The Parliament of Paris hauing cast vppe the phleme of temporising, kindles his courage, and by a decree disperceth the Chymera's of Spain, which thought to reduce France vnto a Prouince. The most obstinate are forced to confesse, that the earth striues in vaine against the decrees of heauen; that whatsoever had been done to keepe vnder and ruine this Prince had raised, preserued and aduanced him: that in declaring him vnworthy of the crowne, they had drawn him from the farthest bounds of France, and thinking to hold him in the waues of diuision, they had brought him to the Port
of

of greatnesse. Behold in the end hee is the *Hercules of Gaule*, the tamer of Monsters, which France had not brought forth, but did nourish and entertaine.

Paris which had resisted his mildnesse, is surpris'd by force: he takes it with 4000. men. She sees her selfe taken & feels it not, neither is there any alteration but that of ioy disperst through all the streets for so sweet a change. *He enters like a King and intreats like a father.* He changeth the sword of iust reuenge, into a scepter of mild command: he pardoneth euen the * sixteene, the people adore him & kisse his feet. The Loure receiues his Maiesty, the Palace his iustice, the temple his piety, and all orders his clemency. Hee visits the Cathedrall church of this citty to giue God thanks, who was the Author of this conquest, the founder of this authority, & the fountaine of this felicity.

* A seditious number of leaguers within Paris.

Laon was a refuge for the forrain troops whom hee suffred to depart out of Paris. they tried the effects of his clemency, & felt

of

of his valor : for hauing sustained three assaults in one day, and seeing the defeat of two mighty conuoyes, they yeelded. This prise was followed by the reduction of all Picardy. Hee beseegeth and taketh Noion, and forceth the towne and castell of Dreux. He casts the firebrand of warre vpon those who had set France on fire, and causeth Artois, the county of Burgundy, Piedmont and Sauoy, to feele the iust fury of his armes. He strikes euery where as soone as he threatens, He seems to be mounted vpon *Pegasus*, to be in all places where his presence is necessary. Behold he enters triumphing into Lions, and in an instant is vpon the frontier of Picardy, from thence his authority like a spirit of life disperseth it selfe throughout all the members of the body.

But it is not sufficient for him to haue made warre, if it doth not produce peace. The most royall vertue of a great Prince which entereth into a troubled estate is
Iustice

Iustice, the most mighty is valour, the greatest effects come from Armes, and the most glorious fruits of Armes from peace. Hee shewes that hee hath not made warre, but for peace, that his club, (like vnto that of *Hercules*) is made of an Oliue tree, and his sword dipt in Oyle. He addes vnto his Bayes a crowne of Olyue branches, he giues peace to them that demand it, and doth not refuse it, but vnto those who beeing ostinate in their owne ruine contemne it. Fiue Dukes sacrifice to this royall clemencie.

The first obtaines peace for his estate, beeing counselled and gouerned in this resolution by *Ferdinand* great Duke of Tuscany, a most wise and happy Prince.

Duke of
Lorraine.

The second for his party, whereof hee is the head, and which giue him the glory of great continencie in so great libertie, and of wise command in a furious confusion, for that hee would neuer yeeld

Duke of
Maienne.

that religion should bee wronged, nor the estate ruined.

Duke of
Guise.

The third, who seemed to bee most interested, for that in this ciuill tempest hee had lost his Father and his Vncle, giues his wrongs vnto France, and hath the honour to receiue the Kings first embrassings, hee is content to command in that Prouince, whereas his grand-fathers, by the mothers side, had sometimes reigned, and that France should see foure yong plants spring out of that tree, which the Kings fury had ouer-throwne.

Duke of
Ioyeuze.

The fourth is content to leaue the troubles of the world, to prepare himselfe to a solitary life, where he had begun to liue.

Duke of
Mercure.

The fift did beautifie the trophees of the Kings glory, by the whole reduction of the goodliest Prouince in France, and sees the Herminees to reuiue at the smell of the Flower de Luce.

This great King had by his clemencie wonne these great men, whose hearts had
neuer

neuer yeelded to weaknesse. Hee did so gouerne their humors and affections, as hee made them profitable for his seruice. *M. Sceuola* had wonderfully wronged *Porfenna*, but the constancie of him that did the offence, changed the reuenge of the offended into admiration. Hee restored him his sword, and *Sceuola* taking it with the left hand (for the other was burnt) sayd vnto him; *Porfenna, Thou couldest not haue vanquished mee by feare, and now thou hast ouer-come mee by courtesie.* Where-vpon hee discovered vnto him a conspiracie of three hundred Romaines, and protested that hee was not sorry that hee had not slaine so good a man. Generous mindes will not bee forced nor baffled. *Lawrell is bitter to them that bite it.* There are herbes very sweete when they are gently handled, but they lose their sa- uour when they are roughly rub'd.

This Prince did neuer desire to be reuenged but by the iustnesse of his armes, but

when he saw that other meanes would not preuayle. In the greatest declining of his affaires, and when as necessity did suffer him to seeke reuenge, either by pollicy or by force, he let them see that the generosity of his courage could not yeeld vnto the profit which may grow by a base and wicked action. After the defeats of his Reisters, a gentleman came vnto him at Chastel Ialeux and told him that he had meanes to ruine the Duke of Guise and his chiefe enemies, setting fire vnto a sauedge being planted in a certaine place of the Palace of Guise, in Paris. To whom he answered, *be gone, speake no more of it, euen as you measure to others so shall it be measured to you againe.*

The temple of clemency being open vnto great men, was not shut to the meaneest. He doth imbrace them and doth not refuse to capitulate with simple captains, suspending for a time the greatnes of his maiesty to accomodate him-felfe to the

vncon-

vnconstancy of the world, and to shew that his hands no lesse accustomed to beare the *palmes of valour* then the *crownes of clemency* knowes how to raise vp them that humble themselves, and reforme such as goe astray. He is content to hinder the fall of such as did shake and wauer at the first wind of sedition; experience hauing taught him that the people suffer themselves to be abused with bruits, and opinions, he doth therefore carefully obserue the practises and pollicies of these deceiuers.

The pleasure of liberty being recouered, defaceth the sorrow of forepassed seruitude. All the reuolted Townes seeke the shortest way to retire themselves out of this misery, and confesse that the shortest follyes are the best. They returne to their duties, not by order of their quallities, nor the reason of example, but as they are toucht with repentance of rebellion, the which doth now seeme a dying lampe,

I 3 that

that hauing nothing to feed it leaues him in suspence whether it be dead or aliue. Al his thoughts tended to the happy end of all his victories, and to encrease the prosperity of France, when as his enemies surprised Amiens with Apples and nutts, and trobled him to recouer it with Canon shot making it known that there was *nothing impossible nor impregnable for his courage.*

Then did Europe call him the Inuincible: a title which he did not purchase with his armes a crosse, nor by his Lieftenants, but with the price of his blood and the perill of his life in the view of his enemies, and with the consent of all the world. To say that he hath conquered France, and subdued in France the most warlike Nations in Europe, is to say al that can be said, to iudge whether that he had deserued that glorious title of *alwaies victorious, alwaies Augustus.* This great King alone was worthy of the conquest of France, and France was alone worthy of the valour of
so

so great a King. France is no estate of *Pigmes* which may be conquered by armies of Cranes. It is neither America nor Canada, contryes in a manner not habitable by reason of the ordinary inundations, whereas the Inhabitants are forced a part of the yeare to leaue the land and to liue in Barks and Canoes vpon the water, whereas the people are so dull and brutish as they dare not thinke themselves to be men.

It is not that miserable region of the *Ichthiophages*, whose townes and houses are made of fishbones, nor that part of *Numidia* wher as they liue of herbes and water, it is the Queen of Realmes, it is the realme of Kings, the beauty of delightes, the felicity and the force of the world, so rich, abundant and fruitfull as in cutting of superfluous things she hath no need of the world for that which is necessary. It is she that hath made head against the Romans, then against the Gothes, Hunns, Vandales, & Sarazens; which hath ioynd
vnto

vnto her crowne , Germany , Hungarie, Saxonie, a part of Spaine, Palestina , and the Empire of Greece ; shee hath giuen lawes and Kings to other Crownes, and brought the French name in such reputation, as the Christians of the East vsed not any other. Yet shee hath not the wonders which maketh other nations of the world more admired then frequented, and from whence no man comes but hee hath the priuiledge to purchase credit, as they were wont to say of those that went for Iseland; If I say shee did not nourish cruell and sauage beasts like vnto Affrick ; If she doth not carry trees fifteene faddom about the body, as at Peru , nor doth produce cloues like the Moluques , nor cinomon as at Bantan , nutmegs as at Iauan , nor ginger and pepper as at Calecut , muske as at Sertuge, perfumes as in Arabia, nor Cassia and balme as in Egipt : If it be not as rich in Diamonds , as the Island at Zeilan, nor in pearles like to Var, nor in Emerauds like

like to China, nor in rubies like to Perne
nor in Opalls like to India, she is mighty
in men, capeable to conquer al this, If they
knew the meanes as well to keepe it as to
get it. Fruitfull and flourishing in men
which vnderstand the true point of ho-
nour, the true honour of valour, which
cannot yeeld to dangers and which teach-
eth them to goe on and how to dye better
then to kill. It is she that carries the crown
of glory and of piety, by the continuance
of her monarchy, the constancy of her
piety, the power of her empire, the repu-
tation of her princes, she carrieth the title
of the Queene of people and nations.
Great was the glory of this Prince to haue
reduced France vnder his obedience,
great indeed to haue vanquished so many
great courages that were armed against
him. Posterity, which shal iudge of all this
iustly will ascribe no lesse glory vnto him
to haue forced the King of Spaine to rea-
son then in former ages was giuen to

Alexander to haue subdued the persians, *Cæsar* the Gauls, and *Pompey* the Parthians. If this trueth doth not passe without amazement, It will enter without contradiction into the mindes of those which know that they had to doe with men who were Lyons in garrisons and Hares in combats, and this Prince had in front & of euery side men who were sooner surpris'd with death then with feare.

The inequality of armes, and of forts prooues the difference. *Cæsar* found so small resistance in one of his greatest designs, as it is no wonder if he did not write so boldly, *I came, I saw, & I ouercame*, for in lesse then ten yeares he conquered three hundreth nations to the Empire of Roome. *Pompey* in pursuing *Metridates* did number his victories by his iourneys and the seiges by his lodgings. When as *Alexander* had defeated *Darius* in battell, he found the whole contry open, ther was not any resistance, but as nature giues at the passage of Riuers.

If

If these 3. great Captains whom I hold without comparifon, but of themfelues to themfelues, had been fronted by our caualary, our regiments, our Canons, our muskets and our petards, their glory had not been fo great and fo disperft. Artilery is an Inuention fo new, fo terrible, and fo different from al the antient engins, as we may fay that at these dayes we make warre not with Iron, as in former time, but with fire, not with violent force, but with the moderation of wisdom & temporifing: they do not cōmit any thing to the hazard of fortune, but that she carieth away by surprife.

The greatest armies of Europe haue marched against him, and he hath defeated the greatest Captaines. The death of the Earle of Egmont and the ruine of his troope did serue as a triumph of that memorable day, whereas the God of armies gaue sentence for iustice against force, for a royalty against tyranny. *Ferneze* a Romaine by birth, *Alexander* by name,

Achilles by valour, and *Vlisses* in pollicie, did by two goodly retreates couer the weaknesse of his forces, and the refusall of a battell. The Earle of Montmarchiano, generall of the Popes army, who had tied the Sword vnto *Saint Peters* Keyes, repaseth the mountaines without any fruites of his voyage but repentance; *Charles* Earle of Mansfield knowes, that to come to fight, to vanquish, and to triumph, are all one in this Prince. His forehead glistering like a Comet at the encounter of *Fountainne Francoise*, forced the Constable of Castile to flee.

Albert Archduke of Austria, hauing succeeded *Ernest* his brother in the generall command of the Low-countries, seeing by the glorious recouery of *Amiens*, that the King could not admire any thing (aboue the Lawrell branches which did crowne his head) but the Heauens and the Sunne, that it was a folly to bee his neighbour and not his friend, sought his friendship

ship with great earnestnesse. *Phillip* the second King of Spaine, and the first moouer of all these great engines, giuing motion to all the lesser wheelles, considering that fortune had not yet raised any one to bee victor ouer France, and that *Charles* the fift his Father had alwayes exhorted him to liue in peace with her, protesting that there was nothing so gallant or courageous as the Nobility of France, and holding it a great honor to haue had two Princesses of the bloud of the Kings of France, for his grand-mother and great grand-mother; that warre against a Prince, who was giuen and cherished by God, was his ruine, and that an accord was the last anchor of his affaires, desired to end his life and his raigne, by the assurance of a peace for his sonne, and the husbands of his two Daughters.

They that had seene the King bred vp in armes, and to command armies at foure-teen yeares of age, his first exercise in dan-

gers and perils, that he had purchased the glory to know how to vanquish, to vse the victory, to subdue his enemies, and to pardon them being subdued, could not thinke that a Prince of that courage, of that humor, and of that fortune, would thinke of peace, and quench the thirst of glory, wherewith the greatest courages are wonderfully altered; and yet he smothered the seeds of ciuill warre, and ended all foraine warre with much glory, profit, and reputation, so as all men thought it should continue long, giuing vnto his people a happy peace, rich in all kinds of prosperities, the which restored rest vnto the people, liberty to the nobility, dignity to the Church, and to all hope, suffering France to take breath, being no more impossible for a mans body to breath without lights, then for an estate to liue without peace.

Pope *Clement* the eight was the Angell and the minister of this peace, desiring that

that the concord of Christian Princes might be applied to the aduantages which this common enemy drew from their diuisions. Hee had no greater desire in his soule then to see the iniuries of Gods holy name reuenged in the whole land, and the triumph of our redemption raised, wheras infidelity & ingratitude had cast it downe. The world cannot furnish a warre more iust, a Croisado more holy, nor a victory more heroyck. The fruits of the Palmtree of Europe are bitter, they of Affrick haue no tast, they are only faire & good in Asia. All the vertues of this Prince haue assisted in the building of this publick peace, but piety hath the cheifest honor. When as the people saw that hee serued God in the religion of his father, they beleeued that the warre was not for religion, but against the state, they held them all for enemies that would not acknowledge a Prince whom the heauens by so many miracles had acknowledged. After the
bond

bond which is giuen to piety, we know not to whether of these three vertues, Iustice, valour, or clemency France is more beholding for her rest. They be all three great, all three royall, neither had they euer any worthier throne then in the heart of this Prince. All haue a share in the restauration of this estate: the one had beene the sword, the other the buckler, and the third the crowne, the one the sterne, the other the ship, and the third the port. Valour chalengeth the honour of two famous Battels which did saue the Crowne, and deliuered France from five forraine armies; to haue caused courage to triumph ouer numbers and right ouer force, in a hundreth combats and as many encounters, to haue clipt victories wings to the end she should not flye out of France.

Iustice hath retained many townes, many people within the bounds of their duty, whom the respect of wisdome, the
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condition of affaires the indiscretion of zeale might haue corrupted. She hath distinguished the causes from the pretexts, she hath carried a light before truth in the darkenesse of these confusions, she hath fortified mens minds and produced examples both of doing well and suffering much,

Clemency hath vanquished towns that were inuincible to the force of armes and Iustice of the Kings cause, she is neuer weary of pardoning, the more you draw of this fountaine, the fuller it is, and the sweeter her water. She hath wisely mingled the victors with the vanquished, She hath giuen life to the guilty, to augment the number which doe not liue but by the glory of his bounty. It is the Altar of Delos, which Greece called holy, for that it neuer had been gored with any sacrifice. That Prince which is desirous to saue much, must pardon much. *His birth made him great, his fortune greater and his clemency greatest of all.* If

he had not pardoned so many rebels, hee had not commanded ouer so many subjects: when his Iustice did represent vnto him, that examples of punishments were necessary, his clemencie answered, *that the Forrests of France would not furnish gibets, if Hee should beleue her.* Some one besought him to giue him leaue to carry the cannon against some that held his house, hee demanded of him, *What hee would do when he had forced them*: his choller made him answer, *that hee would hang them all.* Wherevppon the King sent him away with this milde reply, *I haue no Canon to that use.*

You powerfull and warlike nations of the world draw your Princes from their graues, make them to liue againe with their trophees and triumphes, you shall not see any which shall march equall in clemencie to ours. Where shall you finde examples of this greatnesse of courage? Paris is the perpetuall theater of this cle-

clemencie. Hee might haue taken Paris, and the feare to loose it, makes him to neglect the taking.

Hee besiegeth Paris, and supplies the besieged with victualls. Hee giues liberty to those that desire to flye from the miseries of the siege. Hee takes Paris, and makes the victors condition in shew no better then the vanquished, his enemies goe forth with their armes, beeing greued to bee bound to him for their liues, whose death they had so often desired. They see him in Paris like a priuate Gentleman which visits his friends.

Spaine and Italy could not belecue that hee could trust him-selſe in a Towne which had so much offended him, and hold it for a miracle, that hee had no feeling of these offences. There is nothing so corrosiue that can alter the golde of his bountie. Whereof

we shall see so many proofes in his Historie, as they that haue not seene them will hardly beleue them.

All haue had need of the force of his clemencie, many haue serued as a Trophée to the power of his Armes, few haue felt the seuerity of his Iustice, and many haue found more profit to haue been vanquished by his Armes, then to haue resisted. This truth hath no need to bee set forth with other colours then her owne. It is an ostentation of ignorance, rather then of iudgment, to seeke reasons to prooue a thing that is knowne to all the world. A lawfull power hath no need of the colours of falsehood, to get beliefe that shee is alwayes moderate in her prosperities, and that her victories are neither cruell nor bloudy. Tyranie, the most cruell of sauage beasts, delights in flatterie, which is the worst of domestick and tame creatures.

Hee was both valiant and happy. Hee
neuer

neuer lead men to danger, but he brought them back to glory. Occasions haue often forced him to doe the duties of a resolute souldier, hauing performed that of a great Captaine. Hee hath alwayes loued *Achilles* lawnce better then *Paris* harpe. Neuer Prince hath runne into greater dangers, encountered more glory, nor better vsed his victories. His valour was not without iudgment, nor his designs without conduct. *Minerua hath alwayes caried a Torch before this Vlisles*. As hee hath had iustice in his armes, wisdoine in his counsels, vigilance, deligence, and fidelity in executions, sufferance in paine, and patience in occasions, so his victories haue alwaies beene without cruelty or insolency. These three vertues haue restored France vnto her King, and the French vnto them-selues, the children are content with the follies of their fathers, and desire not to succeed them. From the effects of rebellion, they draw the frutes

of obedience, they suck hony out of the
stone and oyle out of the flint. They that
were hottest in sedition are become most
zealous in duty, and it seemes that famous
forcereffe hath made them more beauti-
full and more cleere then before. If the se-
uerity of his Iustice would haue vsed his
rigor, it had pulld vp many goodly plants
the which being manured with clemency
haue produced many excellent and ne-
cessary fruits of obedience, seruice and
merit.

At the iniuries of France were repaired, only one remained, the iust fealing wherof binds these three powerfull vertues to seeke reueuge, Iustice declares warre, Valour makes it, and Clemency ends it.

The lightening which should bee feared
of those which are nott tucht with it, is rea-
dy to fall. Iustice shewes the lightenings
a farre off, Valour causeth the thunder
to be felt, and Clemency repayres the
ruines, in a manner, as soone as they
are

are made. The King numbers his iourneys as he passeth by so many townes which he takes. His Canons ecchoing in the Alpes amazeth all Italy. The Embassadors of those Princes and commonwealths finding it lodged in places, wheras the Snow takes from their eyes the formes of houses, and the compasse of the horizon, were so amazed as they thought that inchantment, taking from them the true substance of that which they sought, had substituted a fancy.

That proud Rock of Montmelian, which some held to be an Acro-corinth, humbles it selfe: and *Charles Emanuel* duke of Sauoy, who fought by his assurance to amaze or diuert the mischeefe which did threaten him, submits himselfe wisely vnto reason. Peace is confirmed on all sides, valour giues vnto France the glorious title of mighty Empire, Iustice makes it the Empire of felicities, and Clemencie augments the felicities of this Empire.

After

After so many actions, more to be admired then imitated, and so many glorious labours comparable to those of *Hercules*, if fables may march hand in hand with truth, France doth acknowledge him for her *Saujour*, her *Esculapius*, her *Restorer*. But shee cannot belieue that her felicities are perfect, nor her safety assured, if her Prince do not iustly carry the name of father of a Daulphin, as she doth acknowledge him father of the people. It is a great contentment for a King when as his subjects account his sterillity among the publike miseries, and that his infirmities ingender not hopes but feares.

The seale which the eternall prouidence addsto her felicity was the marriage of this great Prince, with her who may bee sayd to bee the only flower of *Queenes*, as *Florence* which hath brought her forth is the flower of all the *Citties* of *Italy*. If the law of religion were as powerfull as that of duty, they should appoynt sacrifices

ces vnto her, as Rome did to the nurse of her two founders, for shee is mother to three Princes, the lively and firme pillars of this estate, for whose liues France is more bound to heauen, then it should bee for the death of all her enemies.

Thus the great God who is the author of vnion and concord, did shew that this peace was pleasing vnto him, and added to this blessing two graces, which could not be expected but from his hands, both which make estates absolutely happy, for as children are the hopes of kingdomes, so are Queenes the comforts of Kings. Hee who preferred wisdom before all other things that were offered vnto him from aboue, saith, *that such an incounter is the gift of God, and iust recompence of merits*, and hee compares it to the Sunne rising, to a Lampe before the Altar, to a peece of gold, to a foundation vppon a Rock.

As he had purchased the name of most

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victorious in actions of warre, so hee got that of most great in affaires of peace. He had caused himselfe to bee feared and admired in one season, hee maketh himselfe to bee redoubted and beloued in another.

Vpon the height of this great tranquillitie, hee considers the winds and clowds that may trouble it. And as they that are neere to mount Athos see the Sunne sooner then others, hee discouers with the first how designes rise, and how the affaires of the world are managed. His eyes are the stars which watch while the people rest. He hath no need to haue a Page say vnto him, like vnto the King of Persia, *Rise Sir, and take order for your affaires.*

Hee watcheth not simply as a King, but like a Pastor, *Who hath more care of his flock then of himselfe.* A royalty hath so long and troublesome watchings as *Dauid* in his distempers desired not the wings of an Eagle to flye high, but of Doves to rest

rest him-selfe, for that they flie lowe neere vnto the bankes, not of seas; whereas the spirit is alwayes in paine, hauing to deale in two such inconstant things, water and winde; but of those riuers where-as they neither lose bottom nor banck, where-as the strange fauour of the water doth not offend their stomackes, nor the feare of danger, nor distrust least the calme should bee turned vnto a storme.

His watches makes vs to sleepe in safety, breathing the sweete ayre of concord and felicity, so as France were no more bound to those which were the founders of theyr greatnesse, then to this Prince which was the setter of their rest.

They should seeme very ignorant, or malicious, that should not acknowledge the great vigilancie in the concord which was sometime vnkowne vnto the French, by that furious diuision of minds,

which made France like vnto that Image of that vnfortunate Laococon, the which is seene in one of his royall houses, and doth represent the extreame agonies of his fathers death whom the serpents had slain, of the childs paines whom he had stung, and of his feare of another whom he had foulded in his tayle. He knew well what it was to feare, to suffer, and to dye at one instant by the violent cruelties and cruell violence of diuision, which in the end makes those places where she inhabits, like vnto those wheras poyson growes, so naked and bare of all fruit, as euen the barren dust cannot remayne there.

The Gods of the antients are represented with a harpe in their hands. It is a pleasant thing to see *Apollo* of Megara to hold a lance in one hand and a harp in the other, not that Musicke was their profession, but the accord and harmoniacal proportion of estates and of people is their chiefeft duty that command and raigne, and that the

Prince may be compared vnto the Gods who hold mens minds in concord.

Hee can order and dispose of things according to seasons, his remedies are not contrary to time. A good temper makes all difficulties easie, and wee may say that he hath in his disposition those two fabulous tunnes, out of one of the which goeth out the clowds which melt into waters, and from the other the windes which makes the raine to cease. The Panther after a continued raine doth not cast forth so sweete a perfume, as this peace doth seeme sweet after a great inundation of bloud and teares; And to the end this first bud, which did but shew it selfe should not be withered with the winds of discontent, which were not yet pacified, and that priuate murmurings should not end with generall complaints, hee gaue order to repaire all things that were needfull, and to cut vp the rootes that might breed troble, and aboue all to make him serue in peace

The praise, which is giuen a Prince for his Religion and piety seems superfluous, for there is not any one but should haue it in perfection. To seperate religion from a princes hart were to draw a flower from the stock, the branch from the body: one cannot liue without the other. Hee cannot haue so little Irrelligion but he hath enough to doe much mischeefe, and the least errors that he commits are neuer small. The zeale of Religion, which serues for a pretext in the deseignes of great men, is the chiefe instrument which doth moouethe wills of the meaner sort, who cannot endure to be forced in their conscience.

It is a folly in princes to thinke to raigne ouer men and will not suffer God to raigne ouer them. Besides the common obligation with all creatures, they are bound, for that their power depends of that of god, and their lands are of his land. They must like *Ezechias* raigne vnder
the

the commandements of God, and the law of God must raig over the people. While their King had care of the service of God, they were alwaies well served. Whiles the Ark appeared in the head of the army, and the Army honoured the Arke, the people of God passed no day without triumph. The harmony is admirable betwixt the Church and the State, *Moyses* prayes for *Iosua*, *Iosua* fights for *Moyses*.

Without the zeale of Gods service *Constantine* had not merited that glorious surname which the Calender of the Church of Constantinople giues him, of *Apostle among Kings*, of *equall to Apostle*, and other which the marble monuments haue preferred for him, of *founder of the publique peace and defender of Religion, and of the faith*. Without this zeale the two *Theodoses* should not be held the two firme pillars of Christendome, our Kings should not be called *most Christian*. *Rauenna* had not preserved in one of her
towers†

towers this goodly inscription: Pipin the
godly, was the first which opened the Paxe to
this great Church.

This Diamond of Pietie is so goodly in
the heart of this Prince, as it hath no need
of any toile to set it forth. Dotage and su-
perstition are displeasing, and some-times
he laments the simplicity of those which
are abused, and the couetousnesse of such
as doe suffer it, and for all this he doth not
offer to lay his hand to the censor, or to
shake the Arke, contenting himself (with-
out wronging the piety of his fathers) to
keepe a iust measure in the harmonie of
conscience; The greatest and most con-
tinued toyle of all others, for he can neuer
be so iust, nor so equall, but some mall-
content will murmure. Hee must set di-
uers instruments of prouidence to worke,
to distinguish the zealous, he must know
the interest of those which make vse of
the Kings authoritie to offend piety, and
of those which make a shew of piety to
offend

offend the Kings authority, But he neuer giues eare to counsell nor to remedies which he knowes to be more dangerous then the mischeife, and hauing learned that faith must be manured by doctrine and not by armes, by the fire of Charitie and not by the Steele of might He leaues all the glory of the triumph of armes to heauen, and is content to see the combats for religion changed into disputations, the battells into conferences, the Canons into tongues, and the swords into pennes. Mens minds grow more tame and giue eare one to another: they which had gone astray for company are reclaimed by example. Euery one thinks of his own pack. And parradise is open for all men, get it who can.

The ministers of Religion, beeing allowed by the Kings Edict, labour to gett ground: The Prelats of the Catholicke Church haning long relied vppon the continuance of their possession seeke out

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their titles which they had neglected, and produce them against those that troubled them, but the contentions of doctrine doth not touch the words of obedience, they yield vnto *Cæsar* that which is *Cæsars*, and vnto *God* that which is *Gods*, euery man renders an accompt of his conscience vnto *G O D*, and his duty vnto his King.

Duties are performed without confusion, and there is not any one but knowes, that whatsoeuer binds them to the seruice of God, exceedeth all other bonds both naturall and ciuill. *God before all, and all after the King*, where there is question of *Gods* honor, you must tread all humane respects vnder foot; Therein the children are strangers, and the fathers vnknowne. The fathers nourish their children, not with their bread, but that of God, and God hath redeemed them, not with his bloud, but that of his sonne. Where there is question of the Princes health, the life of those
from

from whom we hold ours, or which holdeth from vs, should not be more deere vnto vs.

An estate or common-wealth may fitly be compared to a great family, the Prince is the Father ordeined by God, but with more authority ouer his subiects then the father hath ouer his children, and duty is not more strictly commanded and recommended to children and seruants towards the father of a family, then to subiects towards their King. This benefit of concord in matters so difficult to reconcile, bound the King to praise God, and the realme to thanke the King, and to giue him the glorious name of *Chasemischiefe*, which Greece hath giuen to *Hercules*, as to the author of their publicke safeties. Princes cannot doe more for their people, there is no benefit that doth equall this, and nothing doth so much augment their affection towards their Princes, as the remembrance

of their benefits. God is worshipped and serued by men, for the great good and benefit they receiue daily, and the thanks that they yeeld vnto him, are new demands.

That great and necessary temper which the King brings to the preservation of the publick concord, is not generally receiued for a certaine prooffe of his piety, they will haue it more manifest. Slander, who hath much tong, and little fore-head, who is not pleased but in licking vlcers, hath beene so impudent as to referre the most cleare and sincere proofes of his pietie to hypocrisie, and to say that *his mouth like vnto Annius Satire, did blow both cold and whote*. His enemies not able to belecue, but that this vessell did still retain the fauour with which it had beene seasoned, said, that if his conuersion had beene true, it had produced the same effects which they had seene in those great Princes, who had declared themselves irrecon-

reconciliable enemies to those whom they held to bee forsaken of the true religion, not allowing temples nor altars to the subiects, beeing impossible that truth should agree with lyes, that *Iosua* could haue intelligence with *Achan*, *Sampson* with the Philistines, *Dauid* with *Goliath*, *Asa* with the Idolaters, *Constantine* with *Arrius*, *Theodosius* with *Nestorius*, *Martian* with *Apolinaris*, and *Eutiches*; *Saint Lewis* with the Albigeois, and where the Arke is, *Dagon* must needs giue place.

Happy for thee, poore France, that these reasons which are not good at all seasons, nor in all countries, are no more whispered in thine eares; that these inhumaine counsels which haue made thee loose so much sence, and so much bloud, are now banished from the thoughts of thy Princes. Counsels of Empiricks and Montebancks, no Christian counsels, and much contrary to the eternall wisdome which seperateth the

good grane from the bad vntill the har-
uest.

If thou diddest beleue them, thou must open the wound which the soue-
raigne balme of this concord had cured,
and shouldest execute vpon thine owne
children, who had so well serued in thy
restauration and liberty, the threate of *Cre-
sus* against the *Lamfachnes*, to roote them
out like vnto pine-trees, which being once
cut doe neuer put forth againe. As the Pi-
ety of this Prince is slandered by strangers
euen so many of the religion, from whom
he had seperated himself, did beleue that
the necessity of his affaires, hauing forced
him to this change, his heart had not con-
sented vnto it but only in shew. A great
spirit among them seeing where *Chastell*
had hurt him, spake thus boldly vnto
him, *Sir, for that you haue left vs with the
mouth only, God hath hurt you but on the
lippe.*

But both friends and enemies were forced
to

to change this discourse, when as hee would haue the honor of Fountainbleau remaine to the Catholicke Church, when as they saw him presse with such earnestnesse the Duchesse of Barre his sister to bee instructed; when as hee had restored the masse in three hundred places from whence it had beene banished; when as so often, in so many discourses hee blamed the Intention of the first authors of these nouelties: saying *they had done like vnto him that to clense his fathers house setts fire of it to haue it done the more speedily.*

Euery man knowes how he did comfort those, wch had any thought to reduce themselves. When he saw them wauer in the contrary opinions and that it seemed they would be instructed in that which they would not willingly belecue, he added these reasons which were alwaies most powerfull. Hee told them that it is great presumption in children
to

to know more then their mother, obstinacie not to bee mooued at the secret motions of the spirit, which breaketh and consumes presumption, reduceth vanity into powder, and mocks at the wisdom of the wise. Hee hath beene often heard say, *that hee would haue lost an arme, that they which were in error, had acknowledged the truth; but that faith was a gift of GOD, wherevnto hee called all, but did not enforce any.*

Great is the bounty of God, who vouchsafeth to seeke man, great is the rashnesse of man, who causeth God to seeke him, and great is his felicity if he will be found. Hee therefore exhorteth the Bishops and Doctors, to intreate these sick men with gentle and easie remedies, and that the heate of passion should yeeld to wisdom and mildenesse. That royall speech came out of his mouth, *they must bee tamed*, as they say *Hercules* did a certaine Gyant, which is (as they of the religion reproch it vnto

vnto me)embracing them he should smother them. This piety had extended her branches beyond the seas. The Christians which are in the East confesse that his respect had preserued many Churches, and that the markes of our redemption remaine still in despite of the rage and enuy of the Iewes, who wanted that they had obtained the destruction therof from the Emperour of the Turkes. So many new houses of religion, of doctrine, and of piety, shew with what zeale the heart of this Prince was enflamed, and that they may say of him as of *Theodosius*, that he had *no lesse care of the affaires of the church then of his owne*. But this is not enough, Pope *Clement* the 8. doth not thinke that the church doth enioy the full fruits of the peace which he had procured, vnlesse the Iesuits might returne to their houses. The King restores them, nay rather he settled them in France; for they were not before as they had found by proof. His clemency

defended them against the reasons of the first seate of his iustice, against the teares of his eldest daughter the Vniuersity of Paris . And although the fruits of the Olyue-tree come late , yet their liquor is good and holosome. Euen so as this grace had beene long attended and pursued, nine yeares, it was no lesse sweet vnto them that receiued it. It was published throughout all the world, thanks came from all parts, They of Peru, and Chochin, Japan, Goa and China , added presents of some singularities of the Contry. It was followed with the ruine of the Pyramide, with greatest effects of loue and magnificence. He gaue them his house of La Fleshe with the garden. I haue obserued the pleasure which he tooke in speaking of that action and what content he receiued when as a great Cardinall told him that by this restoring his maiesty had gotten two thousand learned pennes for his seruice and perpetuall fame: When

When as they represented vnto him the Catalogue of Colledges, & the thanks of three prouinces of France, Hee vsed these words vnto them, which should serue as an Epigraphè vpon all their houses, *assurance followes confidence*, I trust in you, assure your selues of Me, with these papers I receiue the hearts of all your company, and with the effects I will witnesse mine vnto you. I haue alwaies sayd that they which feare and loue God well, cannot but doe well, and are alwaies most faithfull to their Prince. We are now better informed, I did hold you to be otherwise then you are, and you haue found me other then you held me, I would it had beene sooner, but there is means to recompence that is past: loue Me, and I will loue you, But the Iesuits do not alone enioy this sweet light of this fauour; merit calleth other companies whereas they finde great and worthy objects of this Princes grace who applieth not

there spirits but to the glory of God , and the publick good, worthy to enioy dignities, for that they had no desire to obteine them , capable to execute their charges, for that they feare not to lose them , and are content rather to deserue them then to pursue them. Among them he hath found great seruants for God and his Church, and the choyce which hee hath made of their merit , hath giuen glory to his iudgment. The Bishops and Pastors which he had chosen are *Timothes* in their houses, *Chrysostomes* in their pulpits, and *Augustines* in disputation. Three Cardinals, made by his hand , haue beene found so accomplished in all vertues , as the conclaue had not sought any other to fill the first chaire of the Church, if the scruple of the beginning had not staid it.

The estate of piety and religion beeing settled in his estate , nothing wauers in the policie but hee doth assure it , nothing stumbles but hee raiseth it vp againe , and
al-

although hee liues in the very center, yet if there bee any motion vppon the extremities, his hand is there as soone as his thoughts. The sweetnesse of rest, the pleasures of peace, are not let to great voyages in the most difficult seasons of the yeare. Sedition begins to breake out in Poytou, he disperceth it; the affaires of Normandy haue need of his presence, he goes thither and giues order for the gouernment of Cane; there is a diuision betwixt the towne and citizens of Metz, but it vanisht at the first beames of his eyes. His seruice is disturbd in some places of Gyenne, but at the first newes of his comming, euery one doth sacrifice to his obedience. Sedan hath the honor to make him arme powerfully, & they content receiue him victoriously, and yet the victory brought them no other discommodity, but a forced obedience.

In this great prosperity of his affaires, hee yeelds the like to those which haue

releiued and assisted him in aduersity, and which haue serued and followed him in his greatest crosses. All Europe doth honor him, as the first ornament of all that which hee hath at any time produc'd of great and famous in soueraigne houses. His word, fortified with this great credit and authority, hath such power in the hearts of earthly powers, as they hold it as the Oracle of that which they should do or auoide, and salute him with this glorious title, of *Arbitrator of Christendom, and protector of their quiet.*

If the general good had not touch'd him neerer then his owne perticuler, and if he had not had a liuely feeling in his soule of the ruines which Christendome suffered by the diuisiō of hir Princes, he had made his profit of the miseries of his neighbors. Hee had entertained the hatred betwixt Spaine and England, whereof the rootes were too deep. He had not refused the command of the Low-countries vnder the name

name of Protector. He had done his business beyond the Alpes during the war of Ferrara, hee had past after the taking of Montmelian, and had disputed the rights of the houses of Orleance and Anjou.

Pope *Clement* the eight considering all this, said, that the holy Sea was no lesse bound vnto this Prince, for that hee had retired his army from the frontiers of Italy, then it had bin of former times to *Charlemaine*, in freeing them from the oppression of the Lombards. The 2. pillars which supported her quiet, were shaken in the beginning of the Popedome of *Paul* the 5. Discord laboured to ouer-throw, and their ruine was at hand. Sicile by an earthquake was sometime seperated from Apulia, and Spaine from Affrick, it was to bee feared that Italy by this ciuill diuision would bee pulled from the vnion of the Church. It seemed that the Pope was come to Ferrara to giue the first blow, and that the Venetians stood ready with their Pikes charged.

That

That great GOD which descending to the earth brought peace with him, and returning to heauen recommended it to his Apostles, would not that the Pope should remaine long in the thoughts of warre, nor that hauing drawn one sword against the Venetians he should strike them with another, punishing one offence with a double punishment. He would not suffer the Venetians to ingage themselues in doubtfull resolutions fit for such as are in some hard and desperate condition, which suffer themselues to fall into the fire after that they haue of long auoyded the smoke. He would that the King should be the author of this peace, and the Arbitrator of the controuersy, he made it knowne that he dealt not in any thing but the euent was happy, representing to the one & the other that the course they tooke to repayre their interest by armes, was full of danger and scandall. The dispute was betweene the father and the

the children, and there could be noe such bitterneſſe betwixt perſons ſo neere allied but it might be mollified.

Loue ingaged their hearts one to another. the father liues more in his children then in himſelfe. As the thing known is in him that knoweth it, ſo contrariwiſe he that loues is wholly in it that it loues. As ſoone as he had made theſe ſpirits apprehend the ruines and deſolations which this diſcord ſhould bring to chriſtendome, they diſrobd themſelues freely of their intereſt, and gaue them to the wiſe counſell of this Prince.

If the Netherlands, after they had endured the fury and violence of warre fiftie yeares, doe now taſt of the ſweetnes of peace, they are bound to him. No man but he could gouerne thoſe vlcerd ſpirits hauing ſo wiſely foreſcene and attended the times that the ſore ſhould be ripe and ready to open and to cure.

The powerfull and warlike Nation

Pp.

of

of the Suiſſes, which hath preſerued the antient diſcipline of armes, who purchaſed their liberty by nine battels, and maintained it at the charges of the Princes of Chriſtendome who giue them ſiluer to haue their friendſhip, haue alwaies beleeued that the aliance of this Prince made a part of their felicity. His name was ſo venerable, his authority ſo ſacred in their aſſemblies as in pronouncing it many ſeeds of diſcord and diuiſion which beganne to grow haue beene ſuppreſt, and ſence the renewing of ancient treaties thoſe people haue thought that they loſt all their thoughts, wordes and deſeignes if they did not employ them to praiſe the vertue and fortune of this great Prince.

Hee maintayned his eſtate in peace, he did not ſuffer the flower to wither before it brought forth the expected fruites.

Hee had a care to keepe that Oliue-branch

branch, purchased with the price of his bloud, hazard of his life, and the losse of the goodliest and most flourishing yeares of his age, alwaies greene, He yeelds liberty, concord, abundance and felicity to the French whereof ciuill diuision had depriued them, and representing vnto himselfe the stormes and tempest which did afflict Moscouy, Swedland, Poland & Persia, and the clouds which he did foresee would fall vpon other prouinces, he had beene seene to lift vp his eyes to heauen, whether he sent his best thoughts to acknowledge the prosperities which he had receiued, and turning towards his good seruants, he spake these words, *God be thanked we haue beene as they are, vpon the stage, but now we are spectators and courteous hearers.* An inseperable acknowledgement in his soule, and an ordinary prayse in his mouth.

He referrs all the conquest and restoration of France to the glory & vertue of God. He must haue a soule wel settled, in al

her functions, and well composd, that doth not flatter himselfe in these encounters. All great Captaines, speaking of their exployts, grace them either with their valour or with their wisdome, it is a wonder to see them giue a greater share to fortune then to their owne iudgments, or confesse that they are more bound to the fauors of heauen, then to earthly powers. Onely *Moyse* was so temperate and modest as he neuer vaunted of that which he did. The greatest armies of the world compared vnto his, are but troopes of Carbines, for he commanded ouer a million and eight hundreth thousand soules, whereof there were two and twenty thousand Leuits, and sixe hundreth, three thousand, five hundreth and fifty fighting men. It is a goodly sight in the historie of the Iewes, to behold these twelue Tribes put into foure battallions towards the foure corners of the world, vnder foure Colonells, and foure Standards, whereof the first beeing

being greene, had for a deuice a Lyon; the second redde, with a mans head; the third yealow with a Bull, and the fourth white and redde with an Eagle. Hee makes no accompt of all this, but referres his victories to the inuincible arme of the God of battels.

The remembrance of the graces which this Prince hath receiued from heauen, is like vnto a pure Christall glasse, which sends back the portraite vnto his beginning, but hee hath often beene heard to speake these Royall words; *When I was borne, there were a thousand other soules more borne, what haue I done vnto God to be more then they? It is his meere grace and mercy, which doth often binde mee more vnto his iustice, for the faults of great men are neuer small.* By the singular prouidence of the great God hee hath brought France to a more happy estate then shee her selfe durst hope for, whereas hauing scarce either pulse or spirit, after the death of the

last King, shee cast her selfe into his armes. Hee had beene an *Alexander* in warre for her, dangers haue beene his exercises, toyles his delights, afflictions his pleasures. He hath maintained his affaires by courage and resolution, hee hath vnfolded the gordian knot of ciuill confusion: hee hath forced all his enemies to turne their backs, and their faces to flight. His valour hath appeared in most desperate occasions, which could neuer amaze his iudgement, nor shake his courage. Hee ledde his seruants so safely and happily in dangers, as he might say vnto them as *Pericles* said vnto the Athenians, *If no man but I lead you to death, you shall bee immortall.*

Hee hath performed an infinite number of great and heroyck exploits with such diligence, as they that consider the combate and encounter of his Army, holds that it neuer stood still, and they that numbred the sieges it made, beleueed that

that it did alwayes Campe. In the end hee bound all his subiects to praise God, to see him seated in the royall throne of his fathers : Hee had made it stately in peace. In the beginning he found it all of brick, but hee built it all of Marble. Hee adorned it with goodly workes, whose beautie is not yet vnprofitable, like to the Pyramides of Egypt, for besides the glory which did redound to the magnificence of this estate, it brings great commodities to Artes, manufactures, comerce and voyages, they ease the needy, employ idlenesse, and make her no lesse bound vnto him, hauing restored their good orders, then Thebes to *Pelopidas*, and Athens to *Thrasibulus*, who had giuen them libertie.

Pollicie which was vnknowne whilst that right was not seene but through the smoake of Harquebuses, and that France had as many Kings as Gouvernors, now she discouers the iniuries which are done

done vnro the Law with the oppression of the poore people, she will not suffer the feeble to bee ouerladen with the burdens which the stronger haue cast vpon them; that inequality shall not produce confusion, nor confusion mutenie, and that what hath escaped by the fury of armes shal not remain abandoned to the violéce of Iniustice, So as order hauing restored good bloud into the veines, and giuen spirit to the heart of France, she doth enioy happily the euerlasting mines of corne, wine, salt, cloth and wooll, for the which Peru payes for a tribute the halfe of that which is sent into Spaine; for of eight millions foure come into France, whervpon some one praising Spayne for that there was only Pistols and Ryalls to bee seene, and no other coyne beeing currant; The King answered in these termes, *Those coines in those Countries are markes of aboundance, out of their country they are markes of necessitie. They come to vs, and we goe not to them, they*

they doe not giue them to vs they owe them as to their creditors. To make the felicity of France absolute, and to make it so strong, and powerfull as after it shall seeme an oke, which to braue the winds hath as many branches without as rootes within, there is no frontier but sees her places in safety, no Arcenal but is full of armes and Canons, and no garrison but is content with his entertainment. He makes a temple of Saturne of the Bastile to preserve his treasure and to defend him from the violence of necessity, the which hath often represented vnto him how pittifull that Princes estate is which is surprised and hath no meanes to resist, He acquitts his debts, payes his pensions, furnisheth his charges, and disingageth the demeanes of his crowne. His liberality dispenseth so iustly the graces, which to haue them continue long he poureth forth sparingly. He gaue by reason, not by ostentation, & neuer did vertue loose her time in her pursuit.

fute, if first shee lost not patience.

All things are restrained within the bounds of duty, the magistrates haue their eyes open, so as nothing can passe vnpunished, and the mischiefe perisheth with the author. The first examples profit, the publike impunity draweth on offences wheras punishment smothers them. The blowes that fall vpon the authors amaze others. *Phalaris* did one act of Iustice shutting him into the Bull of brasse that had inuented it.

Their are seditions whose beginning cannot be discouered, and those are most dangerous, resembling bushes which grow without sowing or planting; one branch ioynes to another, a thorne fastens to a bramble by such a thick coniunction as no man can put to his hand without harme, and if he set fier to it, it is able to burne a whole forrest, and yet no man knowes whence the fier comes. That eye which watcheth ouer Scepters sees and foresees it. He suffers not bad wordes to

haue

haue any aliance with murmerings, nor false bruits with rash iudgements of publicke actions and enterprises, and that the subiects shall not seeke to hold any other in the estate then that of obedience.

The liberall sciences. and professions durst not in the beginning promise vnto themselves any great reliefe from a Prince who in his youth had no other accademie then ciuil warre, which opening the temple of *Ianus* doth alwaies shut that of the muses. learned men spake plainly that they should not attend of him neither the honors nor the prayses which *Plato* receiued of *Dennis*, *Possidonius* of *Pompey*, *Frontonius* of *Marke Anthony*, *Arsenius* of *Theodosius*, nor *Ausonius* of *Gracian*, and they thought that the work-men could not be esteemed or cherrished but of such that loued the workes. But as the fier and lightening comes out of the clouds that are moist and soft; the most ardent fauors sometimes comes from wills

that seeme cold , for this Prince whom they held a *Marius*, shewed himselfe a *Cæsar* to all that professed learning. The exercises that flourished in the chiefe Citties of this Realme, the new buildings, and the new chaires adorned the Vniuersities of France; the honors, dignities, pensions, and preferments which hee had giuen in fauor of learning, are certaine proofes of his affections. And if our age doth produce *Virgils*, hee will be their *Augustus*, if *Aristotles* their *Alexander*; if *Polibius* their *Scipio*; if *Alcuinus* their *Charlemaine*; for he drawes from among the common sort, those which haue more excellent qualities aboue the rest. Hee holds that it concerns a Prince in honour and dutie to yeeld vnto peace all the liberties and commendable exercises which war hath taken from her.

The Romans did somerime place the Image of *Hercules* neere vnto the Muses, and the Greekes gaue him the name of

Musa

Musagete, to shew that the sciences haue need of the force of Princes for their quiet, and Princes the fauour of the Sciences for their reputation. All that haue knowledge enter not into the Temple of his bounty, if they doe not produce singular proofes of their knowledge; Hee will know them, trye them, and prooue them, whether their heads bee as well made as well fild. Good God! what a cleernesse of iudgment is this knowledge? Mettall is not better knowne by the sound, then hee doth iudge of mens spirits by their words. Nothing can bee held so couert & so close but he perceth into it. He maketh no great accompt of those which haue but a superficial shew of sufficiencie, & are like vnto small wines which will not keepe. From these iudgments I haue learned this goodly doctrine. For as small springs are emptied if they be often drawne, euen so spirits which haue shallow foundations; Silence is good in them to make them seeme wise,

distrust to appeare aduised, and reprehension to seeme iudicious. Hee doth not regard the vaine and fruitlesse curiosities which extract the braine, and learne that which they must forget when they haue learned it, The study of vaine things is a toilesome idlenesse, and a painfull folly. The spirits beeing once stroken with this disease, are cured very late, they spend whole nights to finde how many knots were in *Hercules* club, and of what coulor *Achilles* beard was, and the end of their curiosity is alwayes ignorance. Hee doth much commend those men which can speake of all things, and are like vnto liuing libraries, whereas they finde whatsoever they desire. Hee holds that doctrine perfect and solide, which doth not passe ouer difficulties slightly, but pierceth into them, and resolues them, and especially that which honoreth the publick and profiteth the priuate.

A maker of Anagrames presenting something vnto him vpon his name, & telling

him

him that he was very poore; I beleue it, answered the King, for they that vse this trade cannot grow very rich. Hee was attentiuē to the discourses that were made in his presence, but hee could not indure ignorant men to speake, when as learned men were silent, nor that they should hold their places. Athens could not endure *Pothinus* to play his comedies vpon the theater whereas *Euripides* had repeated his tragedies.

It seemeth that many good and profitable inuentions haue bin vnknowne in former ages, to appeare vnder his raigne, and to make nature iealous of art. And although that imposture & falshood disguise themselves often with the habit of sufficiencie, hee doth not contemne the Inuentors, hee heares them willingly, remembering *Alexanders* repentāce, who would not heare an vnknown person, which promised to giue him news within six daies from places frō the which hee did not receiue any in fixe weeks, & found him not when he had most need.

But

But can we cast our eyes vpon al his great and royall actions, and not admire that great modesty and temper which doth beautifie them, which are not easily seene in great powers and authorities, which breeds a maiesty confirmed by time, prosperity and reputation? Princes which haue made their fortune, who haue raigned long and haue all according to their harts desire, do commonly grow insupportable, and think to offend their maiesty if they do not retire themselues from the sight of men. *Alexander* after the defeat of *Darius* did not vse any salutation in his letters but vnto *Phocian* and *Antipater*, A long raigne makes a Princes power so absolute and so fearfull as he can hardly containe himselfe in that first moderation. Wherefore *Tiberius* and *Nero* were as much hated in the end of their empires as they had beene honored in the beginning.

Their is no change in the good nature
of

of this great Prince, he doth not abuse his good fortunes, he doth not thinke that his body yeelds a greater shadow after, then before his victories. They haue often admired his great familiarity with his subiects and oft he hath beene heard say to free them from this wonder, *Pompe and shewes are for those which haue no other means to make themselves to be esteemed, but God by his grace hath put enough into mee to make knowne what I am, and at all euent I had rather be beloued then feared.* A royall speech. Loue growes not from rigor, nor pride. The philosophers hold that bitterness brings forth nothing. Too great seuerity ruines in steed of edifying. A prince may be hated, although they which hate him are not hatefull vnto him; but he cannot be beloued vnlesse he loue. He which will be beloued and not loue, is like vnto him that seeketh to light a lampe at a torch that is quite out.

Posterity will receiue with more admi-

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ration

ration then beliefe the tables of this incredible mildnesse and facillity. I haue seene Embassadors so rauisht and amazed, as going from their audience they haue said *that they wondred that the stones and rockes haue not mooued out of their places to serue so good a Prince.* His moderation, which makes him so wise in affaires and so tractable vnto reason, doth not suffer his spirits to wander in the deseignes of Cyrus, who did not limit his rest vntill he was tired with the vanities of his ambition, for he thinkes in time what he shall doe for himselfe when he hath no more to do for his estate, that my Lord the Daulphin shall be capable to raigne and he in that part of his life which counsell Princes that haue liued in torment to seeke for a safe port.

Hee giues the great toyles of his youth to all France, and reserues the last season to his house at Fontainebleau.

King Francis the first, her first restorer,
had

had foretold that they should one day see her one of the goodliest ruines in Europe, The last troubles, verifying this prediction, had made it a retreat of wilde beastes which durst not goe to the Forrests.

He hath raised her ruines and hath beautified her with such perfections as she merrits to be nombred amongst the wonders of the world. The Duke of Sauoy, The Duke of Mantoua, the Duke of Virtemberg haue admired it as the goodliest abode in Europe. There he resolved to attend some glorious occasion for the crowning of his life and toyles to the good of Christendome. In this sweet solitarinesse, which is alwaies enuironed with actions, exercises and affayres, he is pleased to quite the victorious Bayes which shadowe his forehead, to refresh him-selfe in the shaddowes of those vallies which he hath planted; and to passe the time without any losse of time.

When hee is in his house, idlenesse doth not steale from him any moment of his houres, he is alwayes in vigor and force, alwaies fresh and in humor, alwayes carefull of his reputation. The older it growes the more carefull it should bee manured. His exercises in peace are no lesse laborious then his millitary actions, hee enters into affaires before day, and with the break of day he goeth a hunting & followeth the Stags thirty leagues, at his returne he giues himselfe to some other exercises, he ends the iourney in his alleys, goes about his channel, & maks his whole train to sweat. Hee neuer steps foote, speakes a word, nor giues a looke but with some designe. There is no discourse so familiar, nor priuate fauour which hindreth, but within an houre after hee lets them know whom hee hath fauoured that hee is the maister.

In this goodly and royall house he hath treated of the goodliest affaires in Christen-

ftendome, and hath receiued great blessings from heauen. There he hath ioyed at the birth of my Lord the Dolphin, of the Duke of Orleance, the Duke of Anjou, and of the Lady *Elizabeth* his eldest Daughter.

This place hath produced that iust and necessary Edi& against the liberty and fury of combates, the happy fruits of peace, to spare and stanch the best and whotest bloud of France, which was shed by this wound of the point of honor. The losse of bloud is alwayes suspect, if nature doth not consent vnto it, nor the Physitions ordaine it. It is so necessary for the preservation of mans body, as from what part soeuer it goes, wee must seeke to stay it. The King was not content, with *Numa*, to haue the law which staies this bloud within the body published, but hee would like vnto *Lycurgus* haue it obserued. In former ages they feared men more then lawes, in his reigne they fear the laws more then men.

This exact and perfect obseruation, shoves, that ordinances which were impossible to his predecessors, passe without contempt vnder the absolute and redoubted respect of his cōmandement. Hee was much grieued that he had no sooner vsed this remedy, and said, *that hee had not attempted it but when as he thought he might doe it effectually and profitably.* A noble man of Flanders came to demand leaue of him to fight in France against another stranger. Hee answered him with this Dilemma, *Combats are eyther permitted by God, or forbidden; if it bee allowed why doe you refuse it in Flanders? if it bee forbidden; why doe you seeke it in France? there may bee many and diuerse Kings, but there can bee but one God, one faith, and one law; and if there were no reason to the contrary, should I allow that to strangers, which I grieue that I cannot preuent in mine owne subiects?*

Amidst these publick thoughts he doth not forget the priuate care of the breeding
and

and institution of the Princes his childre, the three mighty pillars of this estate. He hath a wonderfull desire to see that royall plant which should succeed him, to grow and flourish, and said often to the Queen, that she could not haue any meditation in her soule, nor prayer in her mouth of greater frequency and deuotion, then to obtaine the fauour of God, to see her sonne well bred vp, adding, that there was nothing so dangerous, as to be an ignorant King, sometimes calling those Princes that were ill brought vp, golden Calues. When as he gaue him those, who do at this day so carefully second his intentions, he spake these words vnto him worthy of so good a father, and so wise a King, My sonne, trouble not your selfe for riches or treasure, I will leaue you sufficient, but you must make your selfe capable to get knowledge and vertue, which I cannot giue you. If you your selfe doe not endeuour to attaine vnto it by those meanes which those will shew you whom I haue appointed to bee about you. Princes may bee borne good,

generous

generous and capable of vertue, but institution only makes them wise: wisdom cannot be gotten without payne, she cannot be souled, and it may be she should find few Chapmen, for folly is bought daily.

Realmes haue an interest in the breeding of their Kings children, and the care that comes from them should be sacred vnto them. *Romulus* to make triall of his force cast a lauelin from mount Auentin to *Palatine*, the which entred so farre into a fat soyle, as it could not be puld out, the end of the dart which was of a Ceuice-tree was couered with earth, tooke roote, cast forth branches and became a great tree, the which was walled about and preserved with so great care, as if any one saw the leaues but wither, or that it had neede of watering to keepe it greene, he gaue an alarm to the whole Citty and cried for water, as if all had beene on fier.

In like manner subiects haue cause to greiue and complaine when as these plants

plants from whence they hope for fruits of Iustice, and the shadow of their rest, do wither, being negligently censed, watered, and manured.

Amidst all this he is wonderfully carefull of his maiesty, and to maintaine this great reputation which makes his life admirable to the whole world. They haue no other discourse in the Cabinets of Princes nor in the Senates of commonweales, but of his heroicall actions and of his iust and perfect felicities. They are wonderfully amazed to see a Prince in former-times so hated, to be so beloued, a Prince so persecuted to be so happy, a Prince so valiant to be so milde, a Prince so good to bee so feared. His name is knowne to Nations which doe not know him, he is of such authority as he prescribes a law euen to those which will not receiue it but by force. They of Holland and Zeland haue carried it vnto the 70. degree, and those countries deserue not

to bee knowne, which doe not know his reputation. Reputation the *Manna* and *Nepenthe* of generous spirits, the goddesse of great courages is so delicate, as the least excesse doth blemish it, an vniust enterprise dishonoreth it, an act of indiscretion, negligence, or idlenesse doth deface it, and a sinister successe ruines it. It is a spirit that goes and returnes no more. They report that water, fire, and reputation, vnderooke to goe throughout the world, and fearing they should goe astray, they gaue signes one vnto another: Water said that they should finde her where as they sawe reeds, and fire whereas the smoke appeared, loose mee not said reputation, for if I get from you, you will neuer finde mee againe. There is no such misery as to surmount ones reputation, nor so great a folly as to put it in hazard. They commend that braue archer, who refused to shew his skill vnto *Alexander*, fearing to loose that honor in an houre, which hee had gotten
all

all his life. In the course of the Olympike games, hee that failes in the ambitious hopes of the first crowne, may pretend the second, or the third, but in this course of Royall vertues, who so cannot obtaine that of reputation, shall reape small fruits of the rest, he is presently contemned, and to vse the termes of this great Prince, hee may well say, *that the chaine is broken*, for after that he is once grown into contempt he alwaies declines. They say a Prince should neuer see the portrait of feare but on his enemies backe, but there are two kindes of feare excusable, the one within against conspiracies, and the other without against the power and designes of strangers. He shall preuent the first in doing nothing that may make him contemptible and odious to his subiects, and force & armes shall defend him from the other.

A great King that will not haue his maiesty strike against this dangerous rock of contempt, must alwaies bend his thoughts to great actions, for great Princes

are not knowne but by their great enterprises, God shewes that he is God by the greatnesse of his workes. If he builds it is a world, if he be angry against the world he sends a deluge, if he will show his loue that he beares to the world, he suffers his sonne to dye vpon the croise to saue the world, if hee will recompence the world it is with his paradise; If hee armes, the Angels march in the head of his armie, the Elements are the Marshals of his Campe, the Rocks remooue from their center, and follow it to giue it water, the clouds guide it by day, and pillars of fire by night, the Sea opens in twelue parts for her passage, and the sunne stayes to giue it time to end her victories. If there were any proportion between that which was finite and infinite, we may say, that in like manner a King, which will bee alwayes held a King, should not doe any thing but should tend to greatnesse.

Wherefore considering that many great
Princes

Princes had lost, in the pleasures of peace, the glory which they had purchased in the danger of warre, he labours incessantly to preserve this great authority, credit and generall reputation. His spirit, which is quick and active, like unto the highest element, hath no rest but in travell, nor content but in paine. The issue of one designe, is the entry into another. But as all things are maintained by order, that the temples of the Gods are not made of base stuffe, the reputation of this great Prince proceeding from great and incomparable actions, must be preserved and increased by great and admirable effects. Princes which goe not out of their Cabinets, whose lives are like unto Oysters, alwayes shut vp in their shells, who cause themselves to be kept like unto the fire of the vestall virgins, and are like unto those Idols that haue hands and vse them not, feete and goe not, doe alwayes suruiue their reputation.

Behold in an Instant a great and mighty Army which drawes vpon it the eyes and thoughts of al Europe. If we shall iudge of the deseigne of this Prince by his courage and good fortune, what triumph shall he not hope for? We see the bow bent, but no man but the Archer knoweth whether the arrow shall flie. He hath no cause of feare neither within nor without the realme. All Princes speake according to his hearts desire, and yeeld to what he demands. He knows their forces and sercheth into their deseignes . The desire to be vnderstood without sending either letter or post, hath inuented the Cipher of the Adamant, by the which they imagine, that when as the character is toucht it mooues in the counter-cipher a hundreth leagues from thence. The harts of al princes are like letters of Adamant, the King carries the Alphabet, they do not mooue neere, nor farre of, but he vnderstands it.

Charge great King, Charge, where and
when

when you please. If the God of Armes be for you, who can be against you? the lightning makes way through the darkest clouds, and your desseignes shall shine amidst the greatest difficulties. They shall succeed otherwise then men thinke and in places not foreseene, like vnto diuedoppers, who casting themselues into the water rise againe where they are not looked for. And admitt you had no desseigne, neither on this side the riuer of Rine, nor behold the Alpes, it is sufficient to shew what you can doe when you please to execute that which is difficult. They iudge of the monstrous greatnesse of *Polyphemus* by the measure of his finger: we must consider of this Armie what the power of your Maiesty is.

When we behold you in this height of glory our discourse is changed into admiration, we do like vnto those people who, adoring and admiring the sunne, can do no other thing but lift vp their handes and

and set them to their mouthes. Admirati-
on beginnes and silence ends their ho-
mage. Your felicity is so absolute as you
haue no need of felicity, your subiects are
so happy vnder your Empire, as they can
desire nothing more then that it may be
perpetuall.

Stay Reader.



*B*ehold a strange passage,
frō a Triumph to a Tombe.
I had prepared this discourse
as a Table of the Kings most
memorable actions,, and did
desire to end it by the great effects which were
expected of that mighty Army, which was vp-
pon the frontier; but in a moment all my
thoughtes were ouerthrowne, and this remain-
der, which should haue beene beautified with
the trophees of his armes is filled with the
mournfull spoiles of his life. As sometime the
Citty

Citty of Athens was at one instant transported with great ioy for the happy returne of Theseus from his voyage of Candy, and afflicted with exceeding grieve for the death of King Aegeus his father, witnessing both the one and the other passion by that cry, which since hath beene solemnly obserued by the Oschophories *ἐλκευ, ιου, ιου* whereof the first is a sound of triumph and courage, and the other a voyce of amazement and affliction; euen so France full of contents, and apt to receiue greater, sawe it selfe it an instant plung'd in a gulf of sorrowes and afflictions for the execrable paricide committed on the sacred person of her King.

This misery, the bottomlesse spring of sorrowes and complaints, hath made this Panegyre imperfect, for whereas it should haue ended by the glory of things done, I cut it off with the hope of that which was to doe. It shall haue perfection enough if it may appeare among so many goodly and rich peeces, which the mournefull Muses haue erected about the tombe of this great Achilles. They haue not

T t

ceased

ceased these ten moneths, to honour him with crownes of all prices, of all fashions, and of all sorts of flowers. What may bee done more? behold some leaues which they haue left all bathd with teares, the which as much obliged as many, but lesse diligent then any, I adde vnto this publick sorrow.

If any one say that I performe this duty too late, this griefe is alwayes in season. It is so extreame and violent, as it growes more bitter by consolation, it resists reason, it is renewed with time, it is comprehended more by feeling then discourse, constancie cannot vanquish it, nor wisdom dissemble it. I wept when as all the world spake, and now when as the time of mourning wipes away teares, I continue and renew my complaints. My afflictions encrease when as I heare of consolations. Sorrows growne to a custome, are pleasing to miserable men, the obiects reuiue them, and the Historie of this great King, which is the Rocke I rowle dayly, furnishing mee at euery moment where-with to make his life to bee
admi-

admired, giues mee but too much subiect to lament his death. Farewell Reader, and passe on.

*A Funerall Discourse of the so-
daine death of the most Christi-
an King Henry the
fourth.*



Yesterday Saint Denis was all in triumph, Paris should haue beene after to morrow, & this day all France mournes, all Frenchmen are full of affliction. Thus the clearest dayes haue their stormes, the euening is not answerable to the calmnesse of the morning, nor to the cleernesse of the noone day. Cloudy rocks deceiue Mariners, and shippes are lost where they thinke them-selues safest. Pleasures

smother them that imbrace them; sorrow and delight hold so fast together, as they are as inseperable as a conuex superficies from a concaue.

Let vs speake more plainly, betwixt the high and flourishing glory of the greatest King of the world and his fall, there was but the twinkling of an eye, the turning of a hand, and the stay of a Caroché. There was a night betwixt being and not being of a mighty Citty of the Guales, but here there is but a moment. A moment so full of wonders and misteries, as it is able to entertaine the minde of man day & night in deepe meditations. A moment which may better bee considered by silence then by discourse. A moment which giueth feare vnto the faithfull, amazement to the prophane, and sorrow to all men.

An arrow shot from towards Egypt, slue *Iofias* in his Chariot. *Henry* the fourth, the first King of Christendome, the greatest Captaine of Europe, & the best of the French

French kings, who neuer was in any place but a victor, and who neuer desired victories but for the good of the vanquished; who was chosen of God to march first with his thundering sword to reuenge the iniuries and raise the ruines of Christendome; who was a *Dauid* in courage, a *Salomon* in wisdom, and an *Ezechias* in zeale; who in the felicity of his dayes, may iustly be termed the *Christian Augustus*, for that there neuer had beene a general peace but vnder his raigne; who made it known what a great iudgment could do in a great fortune, a great modesty in a great power; victorious ouer so many armies, and triumphing at so many seiges, combats, enterprises and encounters; *Henry* vpon whom all eies were turned, his Heroicall vertues commended, his will respected, and all his actions admired; *Henry* redoubted of all Soueraigne powers, advanced to the height of worldly greatness and full of all sortes of contents,

happy in warre, happy in peace, happy in wife, happy in children, and happy in euery thing, is miserably and trecherously slaine in his Caroch, and passeth from one life to another in a moment.

This fatall and defastrous moment, ingaging vs for so many years in mourning and sorrow, is the day of the death of our prosperities, and the birth of this Princes life. The first day of the fift moneth of the fiftie seuenth yeare of his age must be called his day, for how long soeuer mans life be he hath properly but one day that may be termed his. The hower which thrusts forth his last gaspe is his hower, all the rest is no more his. Whatsoeuer he hath done in his life is considered by this day, the iudge of all his other dayes, the most difficult Catastrophe of the tragedy of mans life. He that is the author of the first and disposeth of the last doth only know it, foresees and mocks at man who thinkes he is farre from it. Before the
last

last sand of this last day be runne, he cannot crowne his felicity: we must prayse safety after dangers, nauigation in the port, and victory in the triumph. Who can commend his life and hold himselfe so happy whiles that the time past ministers vnto him matter to lament, and that which is to come to feare? This day was feared of all men, yet not expected of any: Euery man did apprehend it as the period of some great reuolution, but for that they held it to be a farre of the opinion of the length of time did moderate the apprehension, and the lesse it was foreseene the more fearefull it hath prooued.

And who could imagine so great a mischeefe in the midst of so many prosperities, or foresee this storme in so great a calme? If any one amidst this generall ioy and content should but haue thought of these accidents, they would haue held his braine to haue beene troubled
with

with the fumes of melancholy, they would haue laught at him as they did at *Anaxagoras*, who came to the Olimpick games in a great gowne, for that the day was so fayre and the ayre so cleere, as there was no shew of raigne, and yet presently after it poured downe in great abundance.

We saw this Prince in the Solstice of felicities and contents, it seemed that the world, hope, nor fortune could produce any thing more perfect, that the starres were of his intelligence, that the Intelligences guided his deseignes, and misfortune which may fall vpon any man could not fall vpon him, that the lightening of heauen which had often fallen neere vnto him and not hurt him, would respect his tables as it had don those of *Hercules*. I am forced to confesse that the bright shining beames of this great felicity, and of this powerfull reputation dazeled mine eyes, I could not behold it firmly, my sight could not find any obiekt that might
equal

equall it, I saw nothing beyond this King greater then God, neither did I see any thing on this side God more mighty then this King.

I had knowne the world sufficiently neuer to doubt of her vanity and inconstancie, and although this knowledge be long, yet the life of man is not too short to learn it, but the proofes are dangerous. Since the time I had the honor to see and examine strictly the actions of this great King, I felt this knowledge to alter in my soule, and doubting of that which was not questionable, I began to beleue that which was altogether vncertaine. I did consider what he had done, and what he would do, I saw him redoubted of his neighbors, well serued at home, his power much respected and admired abroad, his affaires assured, his counsels sound, his Arcenall full of armes, his Bastile full of gold, his house of blessings, his realme of prosperities, and his spirit of great designes;

the Princes kept short, the greatest made humble, the parlements ready at his commands, the subiects to praise that whereof in former times they had complained, and *Orpheus* statue to sweat at the bruite of his deseignes, and the admirable preparation of his armes. So great and mighty a preparation as if he would haue limited his deseignes by the riuer of Rine they would haue intreated him to rest satisfied with all that is on this side.

In the admiration of all this I said vnto my selfe. Behold an age of wonders, the order of the world is changed, this Prince understands it, he seekes an vnknown way, he will settle a new beleife of the stability of worldly things, he will fixe a naile to stay fortunes wheele, he will let vs see that which we durst not hope for.

They say that *Jupiter* during the combat betweene the Grecians and the Troians, when as the Gods were deuided among themselves for the one and the other, cast forth a great thunderbolt which

amazed both parties. As France is ready to passe the frontier to incounter some object worthy of her power, behold the terrible and fearfull blow which striks amazement into all the world, behold that tragick moment which mockes at my discourse, and makes me see that these great shadowes did betoken the sunnes setting.

In the Image of this fatall day, I represent vnto my selfe that of *Phillip*, father vnto *Alexander*, who in the 46. yeare of his life, and the 24. of his raigne, resolved to passe into Asia, and to prescribe a law to the persians, he consulted with the Oracle to know the Issue of his deseigne, and it was told him that the oxe should be crowned to be led vnto the sacrifice, he thought that the King of Persia should haue been the oblation: and to begin to giue thanks to the Gods of victories, which he held but in hope, he ordained sacrifices, playes and publick feasts, and prizes for learning armes, and musicke; he inuited all the Citties of Greece to this publick ioy, & to

make it the more stately, he added the solemnity of the marriage of *Cleopatra* his daughter with *Alexander* King of Epirus, this great content did so blind his eyes from seeing the mischeefe which should depriue him of life, as *Neoptolemus* singing an hymne during the feast, which at euery change spake of the vanity of great Kings and how that death crossed their deseignes, all which he tooke for his advantage, as a prediction of the ruine of the King of Persia.

The next day he went vnto the theater to see the playes, and sheweth himselfe with a maiesty contrary to the ordinary of Kings. His Image followed twelue statues of the Gods, after which he marched, and to shew that he had no distrust of the Gretians he would not haue any guards about him. In a moment fortune, which neuer giues great contents for nothing, changeth this pompe into mourning.

Pausanias who did smother in his soule the
the

the reuenge of an iniury, seeing him in this estate, aduanceth, and drawing a sword from vnder his robe thrust him in to the flanke and slew him.

But who so knoweth that this murtherer being greiuously wronged by *Attalus* could obtaine no iustice from *Phillip*, will abate much of the amazement, the which cannot be diminished in this other accident, for the King is miserably murdered by a man who neuer had any cause to complaine of him. I do not hold it strange that the Emperour *Maximin* was murdered in his tent with his wife and children. nor that the souldiers cried out that not any one of a wicked race should be left aliue. For besides that these violencies were ordinary in the Roman Empire, he tooke away the goods, honor, and liues of Cittizens without forme of Iustice: I am no more amazed that *Antiochus* did breed wormes in his flesh, he had left liuely markes of his impiety in the Temple.

I am silent when I see *Attalus* King of Pergamo, reduced to extreame misery, and *Pyrrhus* pursued by Fortune both by sea and land, and *Cambises* fall vpon the point of his sword, and *Aristobulus* vomiting forth his soule with his bloud. The first had slaine his mother and his wife, the second had spoiled *Proserpinas* Temple; the third had murthered his brother and his sister beeing with child, and the fourth had put his mother and his brother to death.

But I am amazed to see a Prince who deserueth to bee called the delights of man-kinde, encounter with a death so vnworthy of this great and incomparable bounty. A Prince so great, so good, so mercifull, so wise, so happy, so redoubted, so valiant, was worthy of another age and of another end.

But when as I present him to my selfe like a *Lion*, who beeing as often victorious as assayled, is in such reputation of his

his owne force, as it doth amaze with the terror of his eyes those that meane to assault it, and that I see him slaine by a flye, for there is no greater disproportion betwixt these two creatures then betwixt him and the Parricide, all my thoughts are confounded, I know not where I am.

The most humble and staide spirits seeke to examine that which the Philosophers call destinie, a certaine necellitie, imposed vnto things, and cause her to come from aboue, or from supposed principles, as from the concurrens of the Atomes of *Democritus*, or the imaginations of the soule of the vniuerse, or from the order or course of causes, or from the influence of the starres.

The pure Doctrine termes it *A disposition of the diuine prouidence* of that which regards the aduentures and euent of the beeing, and of the inferiour life. A disposition which beeing
eternall

eternal & immutable, as being in the spirit of God, doth not impose any necessity, and in that shee carrieth her effects into things that are humane and created, she is temporall, mutable and contingent. So as man being considered as temporall, he is vnder destinie, but in his principall part, which is immortall, hee is not subiect vnto hee list. The starres haue no power ouer his will. The action of destiny, vpon the matter is necessary, the effect is not. It may be preuented by vigilancy, care, wisdom and other helps from heauen, and yet in doing nothing but what wee will there happens nothing but what God knowes shall succeed.

All that is in God, is God himselfe, the knowledge of God is his essence, his essence is immutable, and so consequently his knowledge is inuincible, all that hee knowes is infallible, and yet this knowledge doth not impose any necessity vpon the actions and wills of men, for this know-

knowledge compared vnto things created, is like vnto the knowledge of the workman vpon his worke, the which is not the cause; it is the will of the workman, without the which the worke should alwaies remaine conceiued and framed in his minde and be neuer seene. The Idæas which are in the vnderstanding of God, are the formes and beginnings of all things, wherefore the knowledge of God is not the cause, for the actions doe not proceed from the knowledge, but by the meanes of the will which commands, and of the power which executes; and therefore the knowledge of God is not the cause of things which are bad, and wher-vnto his will cannot incline, for good cannot be the cause of bad, and from the necessity of knowledge, we may not conclude the necessity of actions.

That eternall wisdom whose secrets are vnknowne to men, and shall neuer bee deciphered but at that day, when we shall

see his maiesty drawn in a chariot through the clouds, hath suffered this mischeefe to fall either to free and deliuer this Prince from some greater, or to afflict this realme or to make it an example to all the Princes of the earth, or to shew that the world and al her greatnesse are but a shadow, dust and wind.

The great God who is the iudge of life and death, hath disposed of the life of this Prince by so fatall and mournfull an accident, to the end France should know that they be the effects of his great iustice, who being offended at the excesse of this people, with the daughters of *Moab*, commanded *Moises* to cause al the Princes and heads to be hanged in the sight of the sun, to the end his fury might be diuerted from *Israell*.

He giues wayward and difficult Kings to the people, and takes away good, when as he seeth they are vnworthy of the one and haue need of the other.

He

He will of that these execrable blowes, as of so many vipers, Princes should compound a treake against the pride, ingratitude and blindnesse of their liues, vnto the end they may truely apprehend whence they are come and whether they should goe.

What shall those proud spirits thinke who can neuer humble themselues, when with the eyes of their thought they shall enter into this Caroch and view this great King slaine in the midst of seuen great noble-men of his court, by the poorest wretch of his Kingdome? Can they haue a better lesson to teach them the misery of their condition? Let them aduance their designs, and grow neuer so proude they shall be like vnto those mysticall trees, which decayed, when as from the topps of them they might discover the sadde ruines of ancient Troy.

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when in this solstice of greatnesse and worldly felicity, they shall behold the tombe of this great King, their pride must needs fall and their ambitions grow humble.

Swell all thou canst humane arrogancy, thou art but a shadow and no more. Take the wall of the Gods if thou wilt, all thy glory is but winde. let *Belus* vsurpe the name of God if he list: let *Ninus* or daine altars for his father: let *Nabucadonosor* cause himselfe to be adored, let *Clearchus* the tirant of Heraclea carry the lightning for his deuice, and call one of his Sonnes thunder: let *Alexander* terme himselfe the son of *Iupiter Ammon*: *Cesargo* equal with the gods, *Augustus* hold himselfe the Sonne of *Apollo*, *Nero* take the crowns from the Altar of the Gods, to adorne his bed, *Domitian* disdaine his mother to call himselfe the sonne of *Pallas*, *Caligula* take of the heads of the Images of the Gods to set on his owne, *Commodus* hold *Mercuries*
Caduce

Caduce in his hand, let *Marcellus* being in Spaine suffer Crownes to descend vppon his head with artificall thunder and lightning. Let the King of the *Molosliens* play *Pluto* in his Court, and call his wife *Proserpina* his daughter *Ceres* and his dogge *Cerberus*, yet they are men, and in this word are comprehended all the vanities and miseries of this world. They are but weaknesse in their birth, inconstancy in their life, and stinking putrification in their death, compassed in with a thousand miseries as soone as they come out of their mothers womb. Their pride is but smoak which vanisheth as it riseth, and in the end drawes teares from their eies. The greatest Princes of the world haue humbled themselues as often as they haue considered that they were but men, and that it might happen in an instant they should be no more what they were, or should be somwher els, or not at al. earth earth earth saies the voice of the Prophet. heare the word

word of the Lord. We must haue cares to heare them of men, but our eyes onely wil heare that of God.. Wee vnderstand him in seeing these great & terrible accidents. Earth which comcest from earth : earth which art fed with earth : earth which remainest on earth : earth which goes to earth, earth in thy birth , in thy life and in thy end , behold the greatest of the earth returnes to earth.

Emperors, Kings and Princes, you are but dust, know it; your crownes depend of God , acknowledge it : your daies rowle and slide away like a waue : your life is more fraile then the winde; an earthen vessell handled gently and preserued carefully may bee long kept ; But howsoeuer you care for your liues, they must needs breake and dissolue. Your greatneses are but heapes of snow, which we see melt into water from whence it comes : your life is like a lampe exposed to the winde, the which is put out with euery puffe

The mornful sight of this Carosse binds

you

you to consider of the great & wonderfull distance which is betwixt God and you. The names shew the difference. EL signifies force, support & the foundation of all; *Adam* Imbecility, infirmity, and so feeble a thing, as it cannot stand of it selfe. Your dayes are compared to the shadow of a Torch, the which vanisheth, it beeing put out: the weakest differs not so much from the most valiant, & the meanest from the most excellent: as a mortall thing from that which is diuine: Mortall and diuine are opposite and contraries. Accursed flattery doth blush for shame when shee sees the Heathen deale otherwise with great men. The towne of Athens receiued Pompey with these words. *For asmuch as thou holdest thy selfe to bee a man, we esteeme thee a God.* Those great Cedars of Libanus are ouer-throwne at the least puffle of death, which make shepherds equal vnto kings. & who hauing come to the old age of som, hath laide ambushes for the youth of others. That this great Prince is dead, it

is the course of nature, and the law of the vniuerse. Hee hath runne the same course which 63. Kings of France haue done, and which all his successors shall doe. It is a folly to complaine of life, and to bee troubled at ones end. He that is grieued at death, is grieued that he is mortall, and his grieve comes too late, for he should grieve at his birth, which makes him mortall, and not at his death which makes him immortall.

That it was violent, great Princes are subiect to these misfortunes. The Romaine Empire had more Emperors slaine by their gards, then by their enemies. As the birth and funerals of Princes haue more pompe then others, so hath their death more amazement. That hee is dead sodenly, it is the sweetest death, for it takes feare & apprehension from death, which is most troublesome. But that hee is dead with the reputation of one of the greatest Princes of the world: it must needs be the effects

effects of a wonderfull glorious life. To dye in the brightnesse of great deseignes, is to braue death it selfe, and to reuiue and liue againe. The last gaspe of such a death, hath no paine, and there is comfort in the shortnes. *It is nothing*, said, that Prince in dying. Death which seemed to be the west and sunne-set of his life, was the Meridian of his glory. Neuer Prince carried his life farther into death: for it seemes he past without any midst from one extreame vnto the other death.

The Colosse of Rhodes, one of the wonders of the world, was no lesse admired beeing beaten downe then when it stood, when as they saw that with one of the fingers they might make many great statues. In like manner as long as they saw great *Henry* like a Colosse of the wonders of Heauen, a maister-peice of the almighty power, the world admired him; but when as they saw that from his incomparable actions, and the least

effects of his reputation, they might draw perfect Images, and allured examples of vertues necessary for Kings, this admiration was changed into raiishment.

A theater of vertues /He that wil frame his heart to pure and simple piety, let him consider his zeale to the seruice of God, his bounty to Churches, and his care for the concord of Consciencs. He that will see iustice, let him behold it in his lawes and in his armes: who so desires truth, let him examine his words and his promises. He that knowes not wherein magnanimity doth consist, let him represent vnto himselfe the crosses which he hath incountred, and the dangers which he hath surmounted, Hee that labours to know constancy, let him admire his fortune. He that will learne the true vse of liberality, let him obserue what he giues and what he refuseth, how he giues in refusing, & how he demands in giuing. He that seeks infallible proofes of wisdom, valor and moderation

ration, let him thinke of his deseignes, note his combates, and consider his victories.

He that hath desire to erect trophées vnto clemency, let him number the enemies which he hath vanquished, saued and recompenced, left them their liues and restored their honors. Of wrongs receiued he hath giuen some vnto time, many to repentance, and al to his bounty. This death was violent by the stroke of that paricide arme, but it was not by the wil of him that receiued it; as he desired not death so he feared not his hower. He had beene so often and in so many dangers confronted by her, as he attended her euerywhere resolutely and with an assured constancy. He hath been often heard say, *that he would neuer refuse to drink of that cup.*

He did not care whether it were by a feauer or by the sword, whether the gate were open or broken. Hee was not of the humor of *Aristides* of Locris who dying of

the biting of a Wesell, was grieved that he had not beene bitten by a Lyon . Hee thought that this present, whether it were brought by a Rauen or by a Doue, came from heauen , and by his appointment who onely knowes the number of our dayes.

Being at Fontainbleau in Nouember last, and discoursing which was the best kinde of death : Hee concluded with *Cæsar* for that which was sodaine, adding, that hee would willingly bee shot in the head with a Cannon , that day that hee should win a battle for France. *Epaminondas* commanded that they should drawe out the darte wherewith hee was wounded, and did willingly embrace death which came to salute him in the midst of the acclamations for a victory which he had gotten for his country. All Greece did coniure and inuile *Diagoras* the Rhodian to runne vnto death, after hee had seene his three sonnes Crownd at the Olympick

Olympick gaines. As hee did not sepe-
rate action from life, so would hee not
hane glory seperated from death, nor that
the length of aboad should preiudice the
sodainesse of the issue. Hee held them
miserable, who had nothing but yeares
to prooue that they had liued, and them
more miserable, who had suruiued their
reputation. *Alexander* in his opinion was
happy, for that hee dyed yong, in the pro-
gresse of his reputation, and *Cyrus* wret-
ched for that the length of his life had ex-
posed him to the change of his fortune.

Hee that thinkes of the life of the soule,
may desire a goodly death for the body,
and all her beauty doth consist but in the
honor. The ambition to yeeld vp the
last gaspe gloriously, is alwayes commen-
dable in a Prince, who cannot too much
desire honor, nor too much contemne all
therest. It is the continuall object of his
eyes and heart. Golde which is but earth,
more purified then the rest, and riches

which are lost on the earth are for men, whose spirites are full of earthly vapours, honour is for the Gods, and for those that are esteemed neere vnto the Gods.

A generous life runnes vnto a death different from ordinary men, such a death as many Princes of that venerable and couragious house of Bourbon, haue desired and incountred; *James* of Bourbon Constable of France, and *Peter* of Burbon his sonne, dyed at the battle of Brignay, neere vnto Lyon; *Lewis* of Bourbon at that of Azincourt, *Iohn* Duke of Burbon, the first of that name, was taken prisoner there. *Francis* of Burbon Duke of Chasteleraut, was slaine at the battle of Saint *Bridget*; *Charles* Duke of Burbon at the taking of Rome; *Iohn* of Burbó duke of Anguien died at the battle of Saint *Lawrence*; *Anthony* of Bourbon Duke of Vendosme and
King

King of Nauarre, was slain with a harque-
bush shot at the siege of Roan, *Lewis* of
Burbon Prince of Condé, dyed at the
battaile of Iarnac.

This great Prince would not end his
life otherwise, thinking it vnworthy of
a great courage to languish betwixt a
desire of life, and the feare of death,
and to quite for the interest of his abode,
some-times the vse of a member, halfe
his sight, and all his hearing, and to sub-
mit himselfe to the discretion of paine and
old age.

His desire was not like vnto ours,
wee would haue wisht to haue seene
him send vpp his soule quietly to the
place of his beginning after a long con-
tinuance of yeares, and the glorious
ending of his designs, that the Queene
had closed vpp his eyes, that the
Princes his Children had receyued his
blessing, the which is of such efficacye,
com-

comming from the mouth of a father, as many haue thought that Oracles and propheties were not more certaine: we would haue desired that he had had time to teach his sonne, as he said, the knowledge of good and euill, that his death had beene like vnto theirs, who sung dying, and who dyed singing the graces which they had receiued from the handes of the Almighty.

But as death is certaine, so the forme is vncertain, we see round figures fall otherwise then *Cylinders* or *Triangles*, life ends not all after one manner, the fruits of one tree fall not all at one instant, some are gathered before they be ripe, others fall of themselves; some are snacht away, some pulled gently, and the violence of the wind and haile beateth them downe indifferently.

As he liued and is dead after an other manner then other men, so the sorrow for his death, was different from that of other Kings.

Kings. He had liued triumphing, he dyed in the assurance of a great triumph, his body being carried to his graue did go vnder triumphant arches, he hath past triumphantly beyond the firmament, where he sees God, liues with God, is in God, and knowes the truth of the glorious relations which had beene made vnto him of the Citty of God.

In a moment, by the losse of some years which seemed to remaine of a painefull and laborious life, he purchased eternity. For soddenly vppon the feeling of this mortall wound, he turned his eies towards heauen, and carried his thoughtes whether his extreame afflictions did conduct him. we must not demand whose they are which are afflicted, nor wheron they thinke. Affliction makes men forget the world, when they must thinke of heauen. Affliction is the liuery of the seruants of God. Heauen speakes vpon Iordan and vpon mount Thabor to aduow the sonne

of God, but at his death it is silent, for that the crosse is sufficient to declare what he is.

He who is in all places where hee is called on, God in the crib, God on the crosse, God in the graue, and God euery where, who heares *Jeremy* in the mire, *Daniell* in the den, who makes a pallace of a stable, of a *Thabor* a Mountaine, of a *Caluary* a Paradise, makes of this *Caroch* an Arke of propitiation, and sends his Angels thether to assist this soule, all gor'd with blood, going forth of an innocent wound, nay rather all bathed and couered with the blood of the Lambe which was slaine from the beginning of the world. Hee receiues this generous, courteous and meeke soule, which neuer refused his grace to any one that sought it.

That great and vnspeakable mercy fortifie vs in this beliefe, and the same truth which recommends mercy vnto men; for that God is all mercy, and will rather cease to bee God, then to bee mercifully
who

who promisetli mercy to those which shall be mercifull. This great King who in the whole course of his life hath done nothing but remit offences, who hath not onely pardoned but forgotten them, not onely forgotten but recompenced them, hath found in heauen the fruits of mercy which hee had sowne vpon earth. His offences are remitted that doth remit; hee that demands grace and shewes it not, is like vnto him that ruines a bridge ouer which he is to passe. Hee which sheweth grace to his inferiour, is assured that his superiour will not refuse it him. It were blasphemy to thinke that God will bee vanquished by his creature. Hee is pleased to shew his great succour in great accidents, Man falles, and hee comes from heauen to giue him his hand. Hee had many other meanes to haue raised him vppe, but his loue found none more fitte. Hee might haue suffered this Prince to haue dyed otherwise, but his

mercy had not beene so apparant in any other kind of death. He calls these terrible and suddaine incounters to the absolute power of his bounty, where as man hath scarce the time to contribute a thought or a sigh. Moreouer the Church hauing in her institution bound all Christians to pray for the health of all Kings and Princes, there is no doubt but at the very houre of their death all these continued prayers made incessantly, and sent vp to heauen by so many millions of hearts, are of very great efficacie, by his merit whom Israell crowned as a King, and crucified as an offender.

A suddaine death is terrible and fearefull, but it is not to those which attend it alwayes constantly, and haue beene often in those places where she doth neuer terrifie any but cowards. This suddainesse doth shake and amaze those soules, which doe neuer thinke of God but at need. A Prince who did watch, sleepe, walke, & eate often
with

with these cogitations, made Christian-like discourses, and said so often, that it was not sufficient to know the graces of God, but they must acknowledge them, might well be taken, but he could not bee surpris'd by death. The treacherous knife opens his side to make a passage for that royall soule, but it could not wound his heart, to the which at his morning rising he had giuen the name of God in gard.

Wherefore let vs rather lament for our selues then for him, and let vs say of him as Rome did of *Tytus*, *Hee is gone for his owne good, and for our afflictions*; death which hath raised him to immortall felicities, doth plunge vs into a gulse of miseries. Wee lament iustly for our selues, who see our hopes dead and our miseries liuing, death hath stroke but one, and hath slain many. The felicity which he enioies doth not ease the affliction which doth torment vs, the contents which hee finds in heauen, takes not from vs the feeling of

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those griefes which his absence hath left vs vpon the earth. If death after this blow should haue broken his bow, despairing euer to make the like shot, that would not cure the wound which his arrow hath made.

It auailes not to tell vs that we lament him not as dead but as absent, to represent vnto vs that we haue not lost him, but that we expect him, wee find occasions daily which make vs remember our losse, and the assurance of his returne cannot moderate the greefe of his departure. If there be any thing in this world able to mollifie our greefe, it is, that all nations and al people haue sorrowed for that which we lament. The afflicted receiue some ease when as euery man bears a share of their affliction. Christendome hath sorrowed for this Prince like vnto a mother who being a widdow andould hath lost her owne sonne: Her publicke teares doe witnesse what she hath lost and what shee doth

doth seeke. This generall mourning in all realmes shews the reason of her greefe and the greatnes of her losse.

This common sorrow comprehends all Epitaphes that can be erected to his memory. Teares are better vnderstood then words, it is more easy to weepe for this Prince, then to speake of his Royall vertues.

If they will haue discourses to praise the wonders of his life, the whole world is the Theater, fame the Trumpet, and Immortality the triumph. If to animate mens courages to immitate them, they are inimitable, no man but *Hercules* could measure that Olympian course, none but hee could bend that bowe, none but hee could weare the spoyles of *Lynx*, no man but *Theseus* could carrie that Clubbe.

Discourses are to no end, neither to augment the greefe of the losse, nor to ad-

aduancethe greatnes of the glory of this Prince, for the one is infinite and the other is seene in his Apogea. But teares shew that he which was lamented of eue-ry man was necessary for all. Glory hath presents and crownes of all sorts, vpon all occasions, and to honour all persons, she giueth in like manner to shipps which re- turne happily from long voiajes, shee hath for the liuing, for the dead and for their tombes. Athens ordained leaues, Roome gaue them gold, and by the law of the twelue tables she did religiously re- commend their remembrance. *Haniball* gaue a Crowne to the body of *Marsellus*, *Cleomenes* to *Lidias*, *Pericles* to *Paralas*, *Aug-ustus* crowned *Alexanders* monuments, the vrne of *Dometrius* ashes was crowned, & when as the Emperor *Adrian* demanded the reason from the Philosopher *Epietetus* he vnderstood that those crownes did be- long to the dead as victors ouer life, which is but a perpetuall warfare.

Neuer

Neuer Tombe deserued better to bee crowned then that of this great Prince, who hath crowned all the actiōs of his life with immortal crowns of glory & reputation. But if they should giue him as many as they did number in *Ptolomes pompe* & at *Syllas funerall*, or as many as *Nero* dedicated to *Iupiter Capitolinus*, and that they were fīue or sixe cubits high, like vnto those which Greece presented vnto *Berenice* vpon golden Chariots, they should neuer equall the esteeme of so many tears which haue beene poured forth vpon his death.

To the glorious Titles of *most great, most happy, most victorious, the sword and buckler of Christendome, the lightning of battailes, the Eagle of armes, the Phoenix of Captaines, the Loadstarre of Kings*, Truth addes for the most glorious that of, *Lamented of all men*, for he must haue great and eminent quallities whom all men shal lament, a generall admiration doth pre-

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suppose

suppose more then common vertues ;
and common teares argue a generall
losse

The world shall end before they will
leaueto lament a prince which hath been
the ornament thereof. Time which cureth
the deepest wound will make ours incurable.
Let mens harts sacrifice to constancy
in another season and let them obtaine of
reason that which they cannot hope for
of time, in this the glory of teares is in con-
tinuance to satisfie such as did thinke that
there was nothing whereof the mind of
man was sooner tired then with heauines,
nor springes sooner drawne drye then
that of teares.

There will alwaies be in the reuolution of
ages, some *Alexander* to honor *Achilles*
tombe, alwaies some *Cesar* to renew the
mourning for *Hector*, wee shall not bee
able to staye his teares in considering
his owne disabilitye to doe that which
this *Alexander* hath done.

eloqui

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These

These teares which flow in so great abundance, haue no other spring then the incredible bounty of this Prince; neuer people sorrowed for them that were haughty and difficult, who haue alwaies pride in their forehead and collar in their eyes, seruitude is not more intollerable vnto them then pride.

Roome being bound to the birth of *Romulus*, to the piety of *Numa*, and to the valor of *Tullus*, had the roialty of it selfe and the names of Kings in contempt, when as she saw her selfe imperiously commanded by *Tarquin*, in whose excesse she did only consider his pride, and comprehended all vnder the name of proud which shee gaue him.

People flye from those Princes which neuer leaue to bee solitary, but to make all solitary, which goe not forth of their Palaces, but like Lyons out of their cages, to feare some and to hurt others.

We should neuer grieue for a seuerer, cruell and inhumaine Prince, our teares should be fained and forced; but for so good and milde a Prince, so louing to his people, so much beloued of all, and so respected of strangers, the sorrow can neither bee expressed nor limited.

Prodigy of our dayes! this great bountie which did merit to see the sun of three ages, which had beene respected among the Scythians, and had forced them to loue it, is lost among the French. Shall it bee said, that France, alwayes barren in monstres, shall become both the Mother and Nurse? shall she be defamed amongst all the nations of the world, to haue slaine two Kings one after another? The Angels reioyce infinitely, when as they vnderstand that men haue done any thing that is good, but how much are they grieved which haue a perticular care of this Crowne, which haue fought by our Kings to saue it; who desire to haue their
ruines.

ruines repayred, and who knowes that the walls of the heauenly Ierusalem must not bee built but with this sand and lime, when as they see that it serues for the Babilon of hell, and that the first and goodliest realme of religion doth produce these monsters.

If this crowne were electiue, they should not finde any one that would accept thereof to runne this fortune. After the death of *Cleolulphus*, the realme of Northumberland was deuided into many factions, seauen Kings in a short time were slaine or expeld by sedition.

They that would not indure Kings, subiected themselves to the discretion of tyrants: good Princes did abhorre to command a nation which gloryed more in killing then obeying, it remained thirtie yeares as it were in prey to the first Inuader, the Danes enterd it, and were expelled by the Saxons, who in the end added this Crowne vnto theirs.

Alas ! France is well purg'd from this reproach, and her teares haue washed away this infamie. Shee hath powred out a thousand execrations against this detestable paricide, shee hath cursed the day of his birth, and doth not suffer any other remembrance to remaine, but of the iust punishment which hee hath suffered.

By the aboundance of the teares of France, wee may iudge of the excelle of her sorrow and losse, wee neuer grieue for that which wee care not to loose, neither doe wee hold that lost, which wee hope to recouer, but shee hath lost so good a Prince as wee must neuer thinke to see any thing equall to his bounty, and wee must say vnto nature vppon her death, as was sayd vnto Nero vppon the ruine of his Pavilion; that the losse thereof would showe his disabilitytic and weakenesse, beeing vn-
able

able in a long time to produce the like. With the same passion that men grieve for the priuation of things of great price, they sorrow for those which haue beene well beloued.

Hee that shall know that this Prince liued in his Realme like the head of a Family in his house, and that hee was beloued of his Subjects, as a Father of his Children, will not bee amazed at the teares of the French, neuer eyes powred forth iuster teares, neither were hearts afflicted with iuster sorrow.

If wee bee bereaued of the sweete light of our eyes, why should wee not complaine? If they haue clipt the wings of our hopes and prosperities, why should we not cry out? if they haue drawne forth our bowels why should we not feele it?

Can wee dissemble such senci-
ble

ble greefes? can any man touch such painful wounds and not be mooued? what proportion of Equity and Iustice is there in that law, which commands to loue and forbids to lament the lesse of that which wee loue?

If the Egyptians wept threescore and twelue dayes, for the death of their King; if that of a good seruant was so greuous vnto *Alexander* as the whole army carried the markes of his sorrow; if for the death of *Masistius* the towers of the towne were beaten downe, Carthage caused her walles to bee hanged with black, if Babylon ordained publicke cessations for the death of her Kings, and if in these sorrows the Pagans were ashamed to eat for that they would not seeme to be touched with affections and the care of life, what shall France doe to witnesse that which she suffers in the death of her King and Father?

If she did not weepe for this Prince, I know not for whom she should not spare
her

her teares, if shee should forget him, I know not of whom shee should haue any remembrance. As among the Romans hee was held for prophane which had not in his house the portrait of *Anthoine*; so shall hee vnworthily carry the name of a Frenchman, which shall not preferue in his heart the Image of this great King, a true *Anthoine* in clemencie, a *Traian* in bounty, an *Augustus* in wisdom, and a *Cesar* in valour. Armies will alwaies lament their generall, the Sciences their restorer, France her King, Kings their Captain, people their Father, the Church her eldest Sonne, Christendome her protector, and Europ her ornament.

The conquest and restoring of France, & the setting of peace and quietnesse in Christendom, haue giuen him a greater reputation throughout the world, the *Cesar* euer purchased in 52. battels, *Marcellus* in 40. and *Scipio* in the taking of 152. townes, and therefore the more that wee consider what hee hath bin, the more we grieue for that he is no more, the more our eyes were pleased with this sweete light, the more troublesome the Eclipse thereof is.

But this sun is not quite gone, it hath but past, we see this Phoenix rise out of his ashes. In the Fathers

West, we adore the Sonnes East. It is the same Egle which hath renewed his plumes: we see the same maiesty in his fore-head, the same mildnes in his eyes, the same quicknes in his actions, the same designs in his inclinations, the same hopes in his words, and in a maner the same promptnesse in his replies.

That great and incomparable Princesse his Mother reuiues in her regencie the raigne of this good King, who hath left vnto her wisdom and felicity, and the same instruments which he vsed in the gouernment of this Monarchie; The affection which he bare vnto his people remaines in the King his sonne. As God could not more aduance the fortune of this Princesse, then in making her wife to so great a King, so could he not place her vertue vpon a greater Theater then in committing to her trust the instruction of the King and the gouernment of the Realme. Let the Father liue in heauen, and the Mother and Sonne long and happily on earth, while that they shall continue happy, France cannot be vnhappy.

FINIS.

THE
TROPHEIS
of the Life

And
TRAGÆDIE
of the Death
of
That Vertuous and Victorious

Prince
HENRY the GREAT
Late
of France and Navarre.

TRANSLATED
and
Dedicated
To the L: Vis-Count Cranborn.

By
Ios. Syl.



To the Right Honourable
the Lord Viscount
Cranborn.

B*Esides old Bonds which my best Vowes engage,
To your deere Parent ; and besides the Due
which to your Selfe might iustly thence accrew;
Th'apparant Vertues of Your April-age,
Challenge of right this Pöems Patronage :
The rather, sith we first receau'd from you,
The speedy Notice (no lesse quick then true)
Of HENRY'S Death, through Hells despightfull Rage.
You saw this Sunne, at his High-Noone-shine Set,
In sodaine Clowd of his owne Royall Bloud.
O Horrid Hap ! who euer can forget
Such Fate, such Hate, of one so Great, so Good :
O iust Reuenge, roote out th' Ignatian Pack,
The Moule that moon'd in Faux and Rauaillac.*

Iosu. Syl.

THE
TROPHIES OF THE
Vertues and Fortune of HENRY
the Great.

SInce first *Apollo* lent the world his light,
And Earth empregned with his heartful might,
Europe hath scene no Potentate, no Prince,
To Paralel great HENRY's excellence.
No Terme, no Time, his fresh renowne shal shed,
Neuer was King more deere, neuer more dread.

Phoenix of Kings, wonder of Christendome,
Passing all past, and without Peere to come;
His Courage only match His Clemency;
And should his Tombe to These Two equall be,
Both Spaine and France, could not contain the same,
Which haue so often scene his feates of Fame.

His Life's a lampe to Princes, and a line,
A Trophie rear'd by miracle diuine:
A Theater to all the Vertues built,
A goodly Garden with such plenty filld,
Of choisest fruits and flowers that chusing, there
Abundance troubles more then Want else-where,
The

The Tropheis

The yeare that E D V V A R D in *Great Brittain* dy'd,
That *France* (beyond the mountaines) *Spaine* defi'd.
That *Therwin* walls were thundered to the ground,
That a faire flower our Royall *Hymen* Crownd;
I'th winter *Solstice* (when the yeare is worne)
Within *Pau* Castle This young M A R S was borne.

Borne for the Worlds Good, as his Enterance
Presag'd him then the H E R C U L E S of *France*;
To re-advantage her *Lillies* long decayd;
For as (by chance) bare-head, abroad he playd,
At fower years old, a Snake he finds and kills,
At forty, foiles the *Hydra* of our Ills.

Nor was He bred in soft delicious wife,
(Which formes young Spirits into the forme of Vice,)
His Grandfire, vs'd him to all Weathers Ire,
His Saulce was Labour, Excercise his Fier,
His noble Heart did neuer ought inflame,
Saue Heauens desire, and th'Honour of the same,

Scarce fourteene times had he beheld the birth,
Of th'happy Planet (which prælag'd his Worth,)
Predominant in his Natitall;
When he became an Armies Generall,
Whose hottest flame, without Him was but fume;
Nor, but by Him, durst any good presume.

Hec

Of Henry the Great.

Hee purchast Peace, the which eftsfoones was stain'd
With His Friends blood, and his young soule constraind
To faine some Change of His Religion:
At *Vinseine* Castle He was sea'zd vpon,
And to the Court confin'd; where, discontent,
His Spirit droopes, out of His Element.

Escaped thence: with restlesse toyle, He tends
To saue the Syde of his Afflicted Friends;
By peace againe he bringeth all in vre:
And *Mouusieures* death doth well his Hopes assure
Of th'after Crowne, who but betweene him stood;
So, now was Hee the first Prince of the Bloed.

Then from a farre he doth new Stormes descry,
To threat his fortune, and his force to try:
Hee meets the danger with vndaunted front,
And in fower yeares beares ten braue Armies brunt,
All with the might of a great Monarch grac'd,
Whereof, at *Contras* hee defeats the last.

At last the King to extreame Streights reduc'd,
In doubt of all, and daring none to trust,
Implores This Prince, who rescues him from *Tours*,
With iust Reuenge; and had yer many howers,
Re-humbled *Paris* to her Princes yoake,
But for *Saint Clements* Paricidiall stroake.

After

The Trophees

After which stroake (which all true French-men hate)
France sadly falls in a most wretched state:
Who hath least Reason, hath most Insolence;
Who hath most Power, hath least Obedience:
Nor Awe, nor Law; disorder euery-where:
Good without hope, and wicked without feare.

Rebellion spaunes as fast as (in the Spring,)
Fruit-fretting virmine; it doth Discord bring
In families, dearth in Townes, death in field,
O! happy you who neuer daign'd to yeeld
Vnto that Hagge, but Loyall to the Crowne,
Haue left you Heires, Heires of a true renowne.

Who coumpts the cares that on a Crowne doo wayte,
As well may number Autumnes fruitfull freight,
And Flora's too. Yet this great spirit of man,
Mid th'ebbs and floods of This vast Ocean,
Seemes a tall Ship, which maugre Winds and Waues,
In wished Hauen her and her Burthen saues.

Hee's neuer idle, nor his Exccercise
Other then stands with princely offices:
MARS, and DIANA, and CVPID wayte on Him:
Maugre his Losse hee alwaies gaines by Time.
Vnto Affayres his eares are open aye,
Nor waytes hee lazying on his bed for day,

Shafts,

of Henry the Great.

Shafts, Tigers, Torrents ; no, nor lightning flies
More swift about then This bould *Ægle* plyes
(Amid all perrils) to preferue his State,
With Heed and Speed, from Rebels Pride and Hate.
In Battailes first, last in Retreats: in brieft,
In Action, Soldier, in Direction, Chiefe.

Diepe saw his Fortunes on a desperate Dye:
The League presum'd hee needs must yeeld or flye:
But, as a Brooke the more wee stoppe his Course,
Breakes downe his Bay, and runnes with swifter Force,
He foiles his Foes at *Arques*, and shewes them plaine
That Heauens iust hand doth His deere Right sustain.

Tis buzz'd in *Paris*, and beleeu'd in part,
That hee is taken; or constrained to start
From *Diepe* to *Douer*, to seeke *Englands* Ayde;
And, while Him comming Prisoner-wise, they sayd,
To the *Bastile*; He came and ouercame
Their Suburbs soone, to their Suborners shame.

Conquest attends him, whether he encamps,
Or marches on: againe he takes *Estampes*:
Lizieux, *Eureux*, *Mans*, *Meulan*, *Vandosme*, *Perch*,
And *Honfleur*, formost in His *Trophie* march;
As earnest-pence of His recouer'd State,
And Crowne of *France*, which well admits no Mate.

The Tropheis

Tyber and *Iber* then together flow,
(Too strong in wrong) his Right to ouer-throw.
There prowdeth Power, Heer Prowesse brighter shines,
And dayly shewes vs by a thousand Signes,
How great Aduantage a true Birth-right brings.
(Against Vsurpers) vnto lawfull Kings.

In *Ivry* Fields, hee seemes a Blazing Starre;
Seene in the Front of all his Hoast, a farre :
Maiestick Fury in his Martiall Face,
The brauest Troopes, doth in instant Chase :
And boldest Rebels, which the rest had lead,
Came charging one way, and by forty Fled.

Melan surrenders, to his Warlike Lot,
Chartres is chastizd with his thundering Shot,
Louuiers lyes humbled at his Conquering Foot,
Noyon lamenteth her Three Succors rout,
Espersay yields her wholly to his hest,
Dreux twise besieged, opens as the rest.

The *Leagne* that late so violently burn'd,
To a Cold Feuer now her Frenzie turn'd;
And trusting still in Strange Physitians ayde,
Neglects her Care till all her strength decaid :
In dread of all, In doubt her owne will quaille :
As a weake Ship affraid of euery Saile.

Thae

of Henry the Great.

That (late) *ACHILLES* of the *Spanish-Dutch*,
Farnesean Parma that atchieu'd so much
In *Anwerp's* Siedge, by match-lesse Stratagem;
And weend the World had had no Peere to Him:
Had heere the heart, twise, to refuse to Fight;
And twise departed and bod none *Good Night*.

Fortune, for Him, no longer vs'd her Wheele,
But, kinde and constant, followes at his heele:
Hee's happy euery where, and ouer all
Spring *Palmes* and *Lawrels*: onely neere *Aumale*
A murderous Bullet put him to some paine,
Yet hindred not His Rescue of his Traine.

Who weens to vanquish Him, makes Him invict;
Milde to the Meeke, to Proudlings sterne and strict:
Hee loues the *Lawrels* without bloud be-sprent,
A Cruell Conquest Hee doth euer lament.
His Thunder batters but *Rebellious Walls*,
And who least fear him, on them first hee falls.

France, Selfe to slay, and her owne Throat to Cut,
Armes her owne hands; and (in strange rage) doth put
The Knifē to wher, in *Spaines* ambitious pawes;
Spain that would Spoil her Crownes primordiall Lawes
And would a Scepter with a Distaffe blinn:
But all in vaine: The *Lillies* cannot Spinn.

The Tropheis

Re-Romaniz'd, so (say They) Heauen coniures ;
His Errors at Saint *Denis* hee abiures :
This Change, in Court Yet chang'd not one nor other ;
For, though his Subiects haue not all one Mother,
Hee holds them all his Sonnes, They him their Sire ;
And Christians all, all to one Heau'n aspire.

Within the Temple of The *Mother-Mayd*,
That bore her Sonne, her Sire, her God, her Ayde,
With Heau'n-sent Oyle hee is annointed King,
Donns th' *Order-Coller* ; and by euery thing,
To prooue in Him, Saint *Lewis* Faith and Zeale,
The Sick hee touches, and his Touch doth heale.

By law of Armes, A Citty tane by Force,
Should feele the Victors rage, with small remorse ;
Paris so taken, is not treated so :
Though well his Iustice might haue razed lowe
Those rebell Walls which bred & fed These Warres ;
To saue the guilt-lesse, hee the guilty spares.

There, There's the Hope and Safety of His Side ;
If There hee faile, then farewell all beside :
The *Spaniard* therefore Thither speedy sends,
A great strong Conuoy to confirme His Friends.
Which soone defeated : There began the End
Of Ciuill Warrs, and all to Vnion tend.

Th'Ho

of Henry the Great.

Th'Honor of sauing and restoring *France*,
Is not alone due to His *Valiance*;
His *Clemencie* hath part; which lets him in
To stronger Holds, then all his Armes could win :
That, satisfied with Teares; makes from all parts,
Repentant Rebels yield him vp their Hearts.

Lyons, the Porter of one Part of *France*,
Rouen that sees none like strong in ordinance,
Orleans, which *England* did vndaunted prooue;
Marseillis, ieaious of old *Neptunes* loue,
Aix, *Bourges*, *Sens*, *Meaux*, *Poitiers*, *Troy*, *Thoulouse*,
And *Reins*; of These, each to his *Bountie* bowes.

This gracious Prince excus'd the simpler sort,
Whom (Malice-les,) blinde Passions did transport,
Against the Lawes, with fury of the Tyme,
Who selfe-affraid to faile in fowler Crime,
Seduc'd by others slye seditious Lore,
Followd (like Sheepe) their Fellowes straid before.

This heauenly-humane *Clemencie* of His,
Yet cannot shield Him from some Treacheries;
One wounds him in the Mouth and breakes withall
One of his Teeth, (ò Act vnnaturall!)
And had not God in part put-by the blowe,
Euen then in *Paris* had hee perisht so.

The Tropheis

But, hauing quencht the Ciuill Fiers in *France*,
Gainst his ill Neighbors now his Armes aduance;
In *Piedmont*-Fields his Lillye-flowers he plants,
Pills *Bourgogne*, and all *Artois* He dants,
And makes the great *Castilian* M^AR s to flye,
With Feare within ; without, with Infamye.

Then those great Warriors that had disobay'd
(Whom not their Courage but their Cause betrayd)
Which came with shame and sorrow (as was meet)
To cast their swords at his victorious Feet,
Fearing his Rigor: He receaues them (rather)
With King-like grace, and kindnesse like a Father.

Heauen dayly works, for him, some special Miracle,
His Faith's an Altar and his Word an Oracle:
His greatest foes haue neuer found him fayle,
And should Sincerity, in all men quaile,
Exiled from the World (as *Moores from Spaine*)
In This Kings soule she had beene found againe.

Spaine by a train of many Wyles well layd,
Surpriseth *Amiens*, *France* is all affraid:
The Spaniard, hence prouder then euer, swells,
Vndaunted HENRY Thence him soone repells,
Re-gaines his Citty, and constraines His foes,
To begg their Peace, or to abide his blowes.

The

of Henry the Great.

The Stormes that long disturb'd the state are val'd,
Th'ill Vapors now are from all hearts exhal'd,
And *France* is now all *French* euen all about:
Only the *Breton* stiffly yet stood out.

But those white *Ermines* at the last must need,
Of th'only Sent of the faire *Lillies* feed.

Old *PHILLIP* longs to see the Waters calme,
Finds all designs vaine to supplant This *Palme*;
Sith the more shaken, it more fast doth grow:
Hee seeketh Peace, the *Pope* solicits so,
Vernins doth treat it, *Bruxells* sweares it donne,
And *PHILLIP* pleas'd departs the World anon.

France yet retaines one sensible Offence,
For which she vows Reuenge or Recompence:
Among the Alps her thundering Canons roare,
Proud-browd *Montmeilan* flaunts and vaunts the more:
To stop her furye, but in fine is faine,
To rue her rashnesse and repent in vaine.

God hastens his owne Work: This Monarch marries
In *Lyons* Church, the choice, the Chiefe of *Maries*;
The Heauens delight, our *Lillies* ornament:
Loue, in one hart two louely Soules hath blent,
Whence Peace is more confirm'd, and Discord, dasht
For, by This knot many great Plotts are quasht.

At

The Tropheis

At *Fountainbleau* (a Paradise for scite)
She brought him forth his *Dolphin*, his delight,
Whose tender youth giues happy hopes of Worth;
One Daughter also did she there bring forth,
And two Sonnes more (Supporters of the crowne,)
Two daughters more, *Paris* for birth doth owne.

His Clemency hath conquered Rebels rage,
Made of dis-loyall loyall Vassalage;
Yea forced Wills by Pardons and by Grace,
The proof wherof is writt in every place:
Through al the Townes of *France* both great & smal
Where, for Reuenge, Reward was daign'd to all.

Once, only once, his Mercy admirable,
Was deafe to *Biron* and inexorable;
Sith when he might, his hault despight would none,
I wonder not to see that *Myrmaden*,
In the *Bastile*, a shamefull death to beare:
But This I wonder, that he would come there.

Of factious spirits, of close deep hearts, and double,
(Whose Life is strife, whose Rest is best in trouble)
He knowes the driftes, and knowne disolues the same
As fast as fire melts Lead within the flame.
His voice alone, as Dust cast vp aloft,
Breakes Hornets buzzing and their swarming, oft.

Discord

of Henry the Great.

Discord disturbing holy Churches rest,
Twixt *Rome* and *Venice* did debates suggest:
Ambition set in foote, free-swell'd with hope,
To bridle both the Senate and the Pope;
Both prest to fight: His Prudence reconcil'd,
Their Difference, and did their mindes remyl'd.

He relisht now the harmeles Sweets of Peace,
Willing his People should pertake no lesse;
But yet some-where he feeles a Thorne to prick:
To plucke it out he armes and marches quick
Euen to the Frontier: There attaines hi's will,
Wisdome (so) fitly takes her Season still.

You Nations, that for forty yeares haue seene,
BELLONA'S Tempests and felt MARS his Teene;
That for your Liberties haue paw'd your liues:
If freely now you ioy your Wealth, your Wiues:
If now your Trades into the East you bring,
(Vnder Heauens Kingdome) onely thanke This King.

Thus heapt with Honors, This braue King is loath,
That his braue Knights, effeminiz'd by Sloath,
Mid Games and Dames, during so long a Peace,
Should stil lye still in Citties pomp and ease:
Therefore he rears an Army strongly dight,
In *Gulich's* Claim, his wronged friends to right.

D d d

A

The Tropheis

A noble Prince, whose Prowes and Prudence, late
Buda admir'd, and *Rome* hath wondred-at
(The Honor of His Time) was Generall;
So stoard with Gould, with Gunns, with Armes, with al,
That neighbor Princes were all in alar'm:
Yet Them This Thunder brought more feare then
(Harm.

Feare-les it Marches, and respect-les threats,
What-euer Log that its free Passage lets;
Gesture and voice already skirmishing:
And vnder Conduct of so braue a King,
Great-Brittains, Germans, Switzers, Belgians,
Serue all the Greatnes of the Crowne of *France*.

Els-where the while, The Duke that rules the *Alpes*,
Seemd t'haue his heart no more beyond the *Calpes*,
Braue noble heart, *Saxonically-French*.
Fuentez, affraid, with shoulder-shrincking wrench,
Doubts least that *Milan* stoop to *France* again;
And *CHARLES* prouoked proue the Skourge of *Spaine*.

Heauens now, to Crowne his *Tropheis*, had set downe,
That at *Saint Denis* he his Queene should Crowne
With royall Diadem; and in one Day
The State, the Maiesty of *France* display.
Nothing but Great, but great Magnificence;
But *MARIE*s Grace excell'd all Excellence.

Hence,

of Henry the Great.

Hence, hence false Pleasures, Momentary Ioyes,
Mocke vs no more with your illuding Toyes:
A strange Mishap hatched in Hell below,
Hath plung'd vs all in deepest Gulfe of Woe,
Taught vs, that all Worlds-hopes as Dreams do fly,
And made vs all, Cry *All is Vanity.*

At th'Euenings-fower, forth from the *Louvre* road
This mighty Prince (without his Gard) abroad
To see his Arsenall: To his Caroché,
In a streight lane a Hell-hound durst approach,
And with a Knife, twise stabbing, killd him quight,
Turning that fairest Day to foulest Night.

Twice did the Monster stab, for els, the first,
Had not bin mortall; but the Knife accurst
Thrilling his Lungs, cut at the second stroake
Th'*arterial vein*, whose blood-flood soone did choake
The peer-les Prince; His dying Eyes and Heart
Imploring Heauen, soone did his Soule depart.

Fell Tigre, tell vs, tell vs Why, or Whence,
Thou durst (accurst) assault so Great a Prince:
Wherein had He to Thee or Thine don wrong?
When once (yer This) Thou didst too-neer him throng,
His Gard rebukt thee; but He Them, for That:
Caus'd That *Thy Malice*, and His Murderous fate?

The Tropheis

Fates ruth-les Law alots his royall brest,
To dye the death that C A E S A R thought the best;
Death without sense of death, a death so quicke
It seldome leaues Kings leasure to be sicke:
Nor giues Him leaue of his sixt *Decads* date
To fill the Roule; but seauen Six Months did bate.

He, He that was the Hope, the Prop of His,
He that restored *France* to what it is,
He that confin'd the Power of Princes still,
He that Commanded *Victorie*, at will,
That was the Worlds delight, Kings glory sheen,
He, He receaues Deaths treacherous stroak, vnseen.

Th'vnhappy street where This fell Hap fell-out,
Where wofull *Paris* saw her Light put out,
Where cursed Iron pierc'd her Princes heart,
It shall no more be clept *The Iron-mart*:
It shall be calld *The cursed Corner*, still;
The Hag-street, or *The Hell-street*: which you will.

Lord ! where wert Thou ! When That disloyall wretch,
With cruell hand did Thine Anointed reach;
Quenching the Raies of Royall Maiesty?
No heart is hid from thine All-piercing Eye,
It sees the Centre, knowes the Thoughts, Yer thought;
Could it see This, and suffer it be wrought?

Hell

of Henry the Great.

Hell oft before, out of his blacke *Abisse*,
Had spew'd vp Monsters to haue acted This:
But still thy hand from former wounds did ward.
And had he not still trusted to Thy Gard,
His Owne had waited Round about his Coach,
And This fell Tyger neuer should approach.

These Words, this rasher Words escapt my tongue;
When I beheld That Monarch layd along
Dead on his bed, so dead, so butchered;
I blamed Heauens, and Whispering soft, I said,
Because They stopt not This strange Hap before,
Their slumbering eyes now watch the World no
(more.

But, are mine eyes mine owne? Is This That Prince,
Which might haue made all *Europe* His long-since?
Had he not thought th' Empire of *France* inough.
That Lyon-heart, that Courage Cannon-prooffe,
Which did so oft Impossible atchiue?
I see tis He: yet scarce my sight belecue.

Is This That Mighty King, Gods liuely Image,
To whome the greatest in the World did Homage?
In Peace a Doue, in Warre an *Ægle* quicke,
NESTOR in Court, In Camp ACHILLES-like,
That with a hundred horse a thousand foil'd:
That from most Dangers neuer yet recoil'd.

The Tropheis

Geat *Rome* was strangely mazd and all a mort,
When She beheld her C E A S A R s bloody shert:
And say, Great Citty, how weart Thou dismaid,
When first thou sawst Thine H E N R Y sadly layd
Along his Coach, and Couered with a Cloak?
„*I thought the Prop of all my Fortunes broak.*

Those that haue seene in Townes surpris'd (while-yer,)
When to the Churches all haue fled for fear;
May well imagine *Paris* deepe Affright.
Nothing but shiuering: Nobles armed bright,
Clergy at Prayers, People weepe and houle:
And the Kings wound hath wounded euery Soule.

Paris in Honor of her peer-les Queene,
Had plotted Showes, (more pompous neuer seene)
As, rich to th' outward, rare to th' inward sense;
But all those *Archs* (Marks of Magnificence.)
Those *Tropheis, Terms, Statues, Colosēs, All,*
Make but more Mourners at the Funeral.

I yeeld My Pencill: helpe A P E L L E S, here,
To Limme (to life) Her dying-liuing Cheere:
Beleeve is hardly in Mans heart impress't,
Her Griefe more hard to be by Art exprest,
Therefore ô Queene! Great Stay, Great Star of *France,*
This Vaile I draw before Thy Countenance.

Heauen

of Henry the Great.

Heauen steel'd Thy Heart with Fortitude That Day,
Thy Courage kept the Kingdome from Decay;
And to the Throne Thy Sonne our Soueraigne heft:
Though angry Fates of Father him bereft,
Yet Mercifull, they left him such a Mother,
That *France* could hardly haue beene rul'd by other.

The soudaine Clap of This drad Thunder sounds,
From *Alexanders* to *Alcides* Bounds:
The Kings and Princes stand amazed all,
With horror of an Act so Tragicall.
Some Rest for-sake, others Repast for-bear,
And Each like Fortune to him-selſe doth feare.

So soudainly to see Day turn'd to night,
Tryumphant Palmes into *Funerial* Plight,
The Royall-Crowne to a deepe Mourning Vale,
A liuing King to a dead Corps and Pale,
Our Flowers to Thornes : seeme Tricks of Sorcery,
Wherein, Concept consents not with our Eye.

Yes, He is dead: and his eye-lids no more
To view this Light shall open (as before;) *Those*
Those louely Eyes the Load-stars of the Court,
Whose gracious glances on the Worthy sort,
Gau Vertue vigor, and Whose awefull frowne,
Dis-dared Vice; are now Eclipt and downe.

Where

The Tropheis

Where are those ready Battaill-ranging Hands?
Those lightning Eyes whose wrath no wall with-stands?
That Voice so dreadfull to the stoutest hearts?
That Hart which wrought so many wonderous parts?
That piercing Wit dispersing Clouds of Doubt?
Where is that mighty King, so Fam'd about?

Inexorable Death! inhumaine, cruell,
Thou shalt no more reave vs so rare a Jewell;
Nature hath broake the Mould she made Him in.
In all thy *Triumph* (trayling euery Kin)
Shall neuer march His Match, nor worthier Prince,
T'haue bin exempted from thine Insolence.

Ah! poore, weake Vertue, Zealous Loue of Thee,
Prolongs not Life, protracts not Death (I see)
This Prince that gaue Thee euen his Hart for Temple,
This Prince whose Raigne shal serue for rare Example
To future Kings, in future Things dismaid,
Should haue come sooner, or haue later stayd.

His Piety, was neither Fond, nor Faind;
His Prowesse, neither Feare, nor Rashnes staine;
His Prudence cleard his Councells, steerd his State;
His Temperance his Wrath did temperate;
His Iustice with his Clemency did Yoake:
Yet could not All free Him from Fatall stroake.

Invincible

of Henry the Great.

Inuincible in all : onely, the Darts
Which haue not spar'd the Gods immortall harts,
Haue often batterd His : but, by your leaues,
O fairest Beauties ! (*Beauty it selfe deceaues*)
You neuer were the Souerains of his brest:
He You (perhaps) You neuer Him possessest.

In *Arms-Art*, what Hee knew not, none can know't,
Neither attempt what Hee attempted not,
Reason was aye the Aime of His designes,
His braue Exploits (worthy immortall lines)
Shall furnish Theam to Thousand learned Clarks,
Whose Works shal Honor Him, He more their Warks.

His Royall Gifts are euery-where extold,
Grauen, Carued, Cast, in Marble, Wood, and Gold;
His Life alone's an Historie admir'd,
Wherein all Penns, all Pencills shalbe tir'd,
In pourtraying all His valiant Feats to-forn,
Whose Tables euer shall all Courts adorne.

His *Bounties* Temple had a hard Accessse,
Not knowne to any but to *worthinesse*:
That Gate (indeed) did seldome open quick.
His *Liberalitie*, (coy Beautie like)
Lou'd to be woo'd, prest, and importun'd still,
Yea, forc'd to giue, what glad and fain shee will.

E c c .

Yet,

The Trophais

Yet, by th'effects to waigh his Clemency,
Mee thinkes His Heart must more then humane bee,
Mee thinkes therein some higher Power did shine,
It surely seem'd celestiall and diuine,
And but I saw him dying, pale and wan,
I could haue scarce beleeu'd This Prince a Man.

Hee euer lou'd rather to saue then spill,
Not cimenting his Throne with Blood, with Ill,
Nor ween'd by Feare his Diadem assur'd
With Myldnesse rather griued minds he cur'd
His Memorie did neuer wrongs retaine,
Beloued Kings (He thought) securest raigne.

Praise you This Bounty, you that past the Poles,
Bear Heauens Embassage to Belief-les Soules:
HENRY restor'd your Country and your credit,
Hee gaue you leaue ouer all *France* to spred it,
Restord you *Bizance*, and each pleasant part,
Left you his Court, bequeath'd to you his Hart.

If *France* now flourish, proyning round about,
Oliues within, and Lawrells all with-out,
If now, She giue the Law to other States,
If Peace and Plenty raigne within her Gates,
If now She feare no Ciuill Stormes againe,
These are the fruits of This Great HENRY's Raigne;
If

Of Henry the Great.

If now Her Schooles with learned men abound,
If Her rare witts be through the World renownd,
If doubts of Faith be cleared and explor'd,
If Learning be to her dew Place restord,
If now Desert the charge in Church attaine,
These are the Fruits of This Great HENRY'S Raigne.

If now her Buildings passe for bewty farre
The Worlds old Wonders (which so famous are)
If *Paris* Thou be peerles to behold,
For State, for Store, for People, Goods, and Gold,
If in Thy Citty Citties sprout againe,
These are the Fruits of This Great HENRY'S Raigne.

If the *French* Scepter be now Selfe-entire;
Fear-les of Forraine or Domestick fier:
If France haue fellowes of ACHILLES Fame,
If now in *France* be nothing out of frame,
If now the *Indies* her Bastile containe,
These are the fruits of This Great HENRY'S Raigne.

If now we ioye to see our Country free
From Theiues and Rebells (which exiled be)
If Iustice now do keepe the lewd in awe,
If Desperate Duells be now Curbd by Lawe,
If now the Weake waigh not the Stronges disdain,
These are the Fruits of This Great HENRY'S Raigne.

The Tropheis

If Merchants rich, If Magistrates be found,
If Officers like Emperors abound,
If pursie Lawyers liue Prince-like at home,
If now Inuentions to their height be come,
If now good witts finde where them to sustaine,
These are the fruits of This Great HENRY's Raigue.

Who lou'd not Him, neuer beheld his browes,
Who knew his Fortunes, must admire his Prowes,
Who feard him not, His Greatnesse did offend,
Who weend Him to beguile, his Wisedome kend:
Who durst displease him knew his mercies store;
Who durst not speake his myldnesse did ignore.

Who waileth not his Death knew not his Life,
Glory of His and Others Enuie rife,
Incomparable, Admirable Prince
Excelling all th'old HEROES Excellence.
For His true Story shall their Fables shame:
Inimitable Life, Illimitable Fame.

O *French-men*, stop not yet your weeping flood:
This Prince for you hath lausht oft his blood,
O! be not niggards of your Teares expence,
(Vaile heere, my Verse, doe ANNE a reuerence;
Rare ANNE that shames the rarest witts of Ours
Her diuine Stances furnish thee these Flowers)

The

Of Henry the Great.

The Heauens may giue vs all Prosperities,
Sustaine our State, remooue our miseries;
But cannot drye vp our Teares bitter streame:
In extreame Euills remedies extreame.
Restore our King, quick shall our Ioyes recouer,
Els, neuer looke our Sorrowes should giue ouer.

Each-where our Greife finds matter to augment it,
His Names Remembrance doth each where present it,
His famous Gests doe busie euery Sort,
Some tell his Warres, others his Workes report.
Others his Fauors past, glad- sad deplore;
Then, not to mourn, is not to minde Him more.

Ah ! must wee liue, and see so soudaine dead
The Life that late our Liues enspirited?
Strike faile my Soule, let's put-into the Port,
While HENRY liu'd 't was good to liue (in sort)
But let vs after; sith Hee's rest of breath,
Desire of Life is now farre worse then Death.

Sorrow, with vs doth both lye down and rise,
Wrinkles our Browes, withers our Cheekes and eyes;
Wee shunn what-euer might our Griefes allay,
We wish the Night, w'are weary of the day,
Night brings sad Silence with her horrid Shade,
And euen her Colour seemes for Mourning made.

The Trophets 10

Extremest Woes yet are with Time ore-past,
Riuers of Teares are dryed-vp at last :
But neuer Ours : Ours, euer fresh shall flow,
Wee desie Comforts, wee'll admit no mo,
Nor seeke them, but as *Alchimie* profound
Seekes that which is not, or which is not found.

Who from the Ocean Motion can recall,
Heat from Fier, Void from Aier, Order from All,
From Lines their Points, from I R I S all her Dyes,
Perils from Seas, from Numbers Vnities,
Shadowes from Bodies, Angles from the Square,
May separate our Harts from Grief, our Mindes from
(Care.

He must be hart-lesse that is smart-lesse found,
The Soule that is not wounded with This wound,
Most brutish, hath no humane Reason in't :
There is no brest of Steele, no hart of Flint,
But must be-mone so great a King, so slain,
Who would not waile a Gally-flaue so tain.

Let vs no more name HENRY'S Kings of *France*,
Death with two Knives, and with one shiuer'd Launce,
Hath killd Three HENRY'S : one at Iousts (inielt)
Th'other in's Closet, in's Caroach the best :
So, Three King RICHARDS ; and Fine Other crye,
Some fatal Secret in some Names doth lye.

What

of Henry the Great.

What worse Disastre can you haue behinde
To threaten *France*, ó Destinies vnkind!
What greater Mischief can your Malice bring,
So good a Father rest, so great a King?
What will you more? Sith we no more can hope
For any Good that with This Ill may cope.

This noble Spirit doth to his Spring re-mount,
This Bounties Flood retireth to his Fount,
This Atomic to's Vnitie vnites,
This Starre returnes to the first Light of Lights,
This Ray reuertes where first it light did take,
And mortall wounds, This Prince immortall make.

Fare-well sole Honor of all earthly Kings,
Fare-well rare Prince for All kinde Managings,
Fare-well Great HENRY Heau'ns and Natures Gemm,
Fare-well bright Starre of Kings, Glories great Beame,
Fare-well sole Mortall that I keepe in minde,
Fare-well false Hope, Fortune, and Court vnkinde.

*Heere, least Obliuion should vsurpe her roome,
FAME writes in Gold, These Lines upon thy Toombe.*

THIS PRINCE, VN-PEERD FOR CLEMENCY AND COVRAGE,
IUSTLY SVR-NAMD, THE GREAT, THE GOOD, THE WISE,
MIRROR OF FVTVRE, MIRACLE OF FORE-AGE;
ONE SHORT MIS-HAP FOR-EVER HAPPIFIES.

FINIS.

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